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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Diplomatic Relations Restored With Chile

AU0604180190 Sofia BTA in English 1712 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 6 (BTA)—Today the Government of Bulgaria and the Government of Chile agreed on the re-establishment of their diplomatic relations.

Chilean Diplomat Comments

AU0604191390 Sofia BTA in English 1729 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Madrid, April 6 (BTA)—After Mr. Ivan Nedev, ambassador of Bulgaria to Spain, and Mr. Fernando Perez Ehert, charge d'affaires of the Embassy of Chile, signed an agreement on the reestablishment of the diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Chile on behalf of their governments, the Chilean diplomat pointed out that it is his government's desire "to make a review and revise all bilateral agreements of the 1965-1973 period, to update them and prepare new bilateral contracts and agreements in all spheres where mutually advantageous relations can be established in the field of economy, politics, science, technology and culture." Mr. Fernando Perez Ehert said that in his country a commission had been set up to study all cases of Chilean political emigrants and pointed out that the Chileans who found asylum in Bulgaria can return to their country and contribute to the promotion of friendship between the Chilean and the Bulgarian people.

Diplomatic 'Consultations' Held With USSR

AU0604154590 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 4 Apr 90 p 4

[BTA report: "Consultations on Disarmament Questions"]

[Text] Consultations on disarmament issues were held between representatives of the Foreign Ministries of Bulgaria and the USSR in Sofia on 2 and 3 April 1990. The Soviet delegation was headed by Boris Krasulin, first deputy chief of the International Organizations Administration at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Bulgarian delegation was headed by Todor Dichev, chief of the UN and Disarmament Department at the Bulgarian Foreign Affairs Ministry.

Mladenov Receives Departing Romanian Ambassador

AU0604154390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 5 Apr 90 p 2

[Text] People's Republic of Bulgaria President Petur Mladenov received Vasile Pungan, Romania's ambassador to our country, on the occasion of his forthcoming final departure from our country. The mutual wish for further development of good-neighborly relations and understanding between the two countries was pointed out during the meeting.

Further on Removal of Fences on SFRY Border

AU0604205290 Sofia BTA in English 1941 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 6 (BTA)—The removal of the border fences along the Bulgaro-Yugoslav border at Kalotina has begun. More than 450 kilometres of the fences passing near populated areas, checkpoints and places where farming is done will be dismantled, stated Major Vasil Stanoikov, spokesman for the Bulgarian Border Troops. Gradually the border fences in eight sectors along Bulgaria's western border will be removed and by the end of next year the fences in another 12 sectors along the southern border will be dismantled. Infra-red equipment, night searchlights and other modern devices will be installed in the operative sectors. Structural changes in the Border Troops are not envisaged, but their work will be made more effective.

The border zones and the restrictions imposed on the free stay in these areas are abolished. Local inhabitants have fears that Bulgarian and foreign tourists may intensify their smuggling activity. By removing the fences along the western border, behind which more than 3,000 people live, an acreage of 15,300 hectares of arable land will be released. It will be given up for cultivation and the material of the fences will be sold.

Today the soldiers of the Border Troops began the removal of the border fences along the Bulgaro-Yugoslav border at the Gyueshevo checkpoint. A new "civil" application will be sought for thousands of metres of barbed wire, wire nets and cement poles.

Mladenov Begins Consultations With Party Leaders

AU0604192190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Today President Mladenov began his consultations with the leaders of the sociopolitical forces in the country. The aim of the consultations is to assess the political situation in the country following the publication of the decree setting the date for the elections for the Grand National Assembly, to exchange views on the preparations for and conduct of the election campaign and the elections themselves, as well as on the role of the newly created presidential institution, as a factor in the country's life, and its importance for ensuring a peaceful transition to democracy.

Petur Mladenov held successive meetings today with Aleksandur Lilov, Supreme Party Council chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party; with Viktor Vulkov, Bulgarian National Agrarian Union chairman; and with Zhelyu Zhelev, the Coordinating Committee of the Union of Democratic Forces chairman.

Further on Talks

AU0704155490 Sofia BTA in English
2101 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 6 (BTA)—The consultations of Mr. Petur Mladenov, president of the republic, with leaders of the public and political forces in the country on key problems of the political life here (an announcement of which was made a few days ago) began today. Mr. Mladenov had meetings with Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP); Mr. Viktor Vulkov, chairman of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union (BZNS); and with Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF].

The main purpose of the consultations is to make an assessment of the political situation in the country after the publication of the president's decree according to which the elections for the Grand National Assembly are scheduled for June 10, 1990; to exchange views on the preparations for the election campaign and their actual holding; on the role of the recently created presidential power as a factor in the life of the country and its importance for the peaceful transition to democracy.

President Mladenov's first meeting was with BSP Supreme Council Chairman Aleksandur Lilov. The stress was laid on the necessity of holding a civilized election campaign by strictly observing the law, keeping public peace and adequately reflecting the will of the people. Mr. Mladenov underlined that the Bulgarian people is politically mature enough to show common sense and self-control, giving its best, most honest and competent representatives the opportunity of working out the future basic law of the Republic which will turn it into a state committed to the rule of law.

Mr. Aleksandur Lilov pointed out the importance of the presidential institution and the president's personality as a guarantor for the normal course of the election campaign and the peaceful, smooth transition to democracy. The leader of the BSP stressed that in compliance with its election platform the BSP does not fight for power as an end in itself and does not want the whole power for itself. The BSP is for an alliance and cooperation with all political and public forces in Bulgaria which are for radical democratic changes. It will back up an authoritative coalition government of national consensus which would be able to carry out the reform successfully for the benefit of the whole people.

At his meeting with BZNS Chairman Viktor Vulkov, the president welcomed the intention of the BZNS to play a more active role in society.

The BZNS chairman stated, that it is the object of his party to make Bulgaria a parliamentary state and establish a rule of the people. In the achievement of this end the BZNS sees good prospects for cooperation with other progressive political and public forces. During the transition to democracy, the country will need an authoritative head of state who should express non-party positions. He hailed the resolution of the head of state to act from the positions of a consensus with all public and political forces.

The democratic free elections will be held under auspices of the president.

At the meeting with SDS Chairman Zhelyu Zhelev, Mr. Petur Mladenov underlined that the achievement of broad public consensus on the key problems of the nation is the president's primary task.

Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev pointed out that the SDS is for a peaceful transition, for a civilized and honest election competition. To make this competition really useful, it is necessary to give equal opportunities to all participants in it? The efforts of the SDS during the roundtable talks were aimed at the achievement of this purpose.

Interviewed by journalists after the meeting, Dr. Zhelev said that Mr. Mladenov assured him that he would certainly not abuse his power in the interim period and that the fears of the SDS would prove to be ungrounded.

BSP Election Platform Published

AU0804195490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
5 Apr 90 pp 1, 4, 5

[Unattributed report: "Election Platform of the Bulgarian Socialist Party—Change for All"]

[Text]

The Change Has Begun

It has begun with everything that we have done since 10 November 1989. We eliminated the censorship. The Sixth Department [of the Ministry of Internal Affairs] is no more. There is no longer a permanent "watch" over people's thoughts. The Army and militia are being depoliticized. The courts and prosecutor's officers are becoming supraparty bodies. The party is separating itself from the state. Education is being released from ideological monopolism. We are unraveling, albeit with difficulty, the knot of hostility and hatred concerning the nationality issue. The country is emerging from serious international isolation. The world is accepting us once more.

A variegated free press has been born in Bulgaria. The multitude of parties is a reality. Religion is free and promotes peace. The politicians are discussing national problems before the eyes of all. An opposition exists in the country. Bulgaria has started on the road to normal political life. We are all learning the alphabet of democracy.

The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] has begun a radical economic reform. However, in order that this reform is speedily implemented, the country needs national consensus between the main political forces.

The opposition prefers to wait for the elections. This is, of course, its right. However, the question arises whether its election interests should stand above national interests.

We do not want to wait and to evade responsibility because the people reject the shallow cunning of the politician who says: "The worse it is, so much the better."

Our aims and program are clear and open. We will work for them both in government and in opposition. We are not for power through the people—the people are not an instrument. We are for power that stems from the people and belongs to the people. The people are sovereign.

Whether the country will be a socialist one or not is a matter for the people to decide. The people will also decide whether this party or another will rule. We support the position that only the people should have the last word on all the important issues affecting Bulgaria.

A Strong State, but Not a State of Force

For decades the government was all-powerful and uncontrolled. Behind calls for order and responsibility, the arrogant bosses sowed disorder. Today there is a lack of order in the streets, factories, establishments, and institutions.

However, it is a delusion to think that order can be achieved through force. Force without control is violence. We need a strong government that is controlled by the law. We stand for such a government.

Only stable government can guarantee peace and calm. Only stable government can reform the economy, stop the increase in crime, and protect us from excesses and taking the law into one's own hands.

However, we will never permit anyone to rule monocratically, not to answer for his actions, to stand above the law, or find "loopholes" for advantages and privileges.

The BSP is capable of ensuring such a government—stable, and at the same time controlled. Controlled by a parliament freely elected in free and democratic elections. This means that the BSP stands for **a constitution under which the people will be stronger than the state.**

There Is No Democracy Without Freedom of Conscience

We stand for equal competition between cooperative, state, municipal, shareholding, and private forms of ownership. The interests of citizens and the market will determine what types of property are to exist and which form is the most efficient. At the same time, we stand for protecting the interests of the consumer, for free, but not inflationary prices.

The BSP supports the expansion of domestic and international competition. We therefore advocate the elimination of monopolies in production and trading activities, including foreign trade. We are therefore creating conditions for expanding collective and private initiative. We are therefore separating the banking system from the government. We are therefore strengthening the commercial banks.

A serious delusion used to exist that socialism is incompatible with private ownership. However, a further dangerous illusion is that our economy can develop only through private ownership.

We support the expansion of individual economic initiative, but accompanied by social security for the worker.

We stand for a market economy, but one combined with modern regulation by the state.

We stand for social differentiation, but one based solely upon honest competition, labor, initiative, and talent.

Our main aim is to create equal opportunity for every citizen to participate in work, ownership, and management. We want everyone to enjoy the fruits of his or her own labor, to be able to organize and produce, buy and sell, extend his property, and trade in Bulgaria and abroad. The BSP supports mutually beneficial cooperation with foreign companies and foreign capital. The BSP advocates the strengthening of the national currency, gradually making it convertible, and supports the free purchase and sale of foreign currency, including by citizens.

However, at the same time we are opposed on principle to chronic unemployment and poverty, and will therefore fight for the right of the temporarily unemployed to receive reliable help, to be able to receive free retraining and be found new jobs.

Citizens, the BSP is a profoundly changed and changing party. It has committed a number of errors, but it helped our people to overcome the country's age-old backwardness and the poverty in the countryside, to build up industry, to construct modern towns, and to create proper living conditions for millions of people.

Transition Without Chaos

There is no crisis without a solution, but different solutions are offered for the crisis.

By voting for the BSP candidates, you will be voting for a solution to the crisis under which **civic peace and the stability** of the lives of your families and relatives will be preserved.

Our aim is as follows: to surmount the crisis within a few years, to open up the Bulgarian economy to the world, and to ensure normal life and financial security. Our means are the following: an all-embracing economic reform, and a system of reasonable anticrisis measures as an integral part of this reform.

The BSP stands for an **speedy** transition to **a market economy**, a **speedy** construction and development of the economy's three chief components, namely the commodity market, capital market, and labor market.

Speedily, but Not at a "Shock" Tempo! Speedily, but Not at One Stroke!

We do not want and cannot permit our people to pay an immense social price for an immediate changeover to a completely free market. The opposition is adopting such an economic policy. However, the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] should state openly that it proposes for our people **mass unemployment, unrestrained prices, breakneck inflation, the outflow of an immense portion of the national income, and a speedy sellout of the few good things that Bulgaria possesses.** The opposition is within its rights to defend its economic program, but it should clearly and comprehensibly explain to everyone the grave consequences of its "shock therapy."

The speedy transition to a market economy is also connected with negative effects upon the living standard, but we possess a means of controlling this, namely **state regulation.** This has been shown by the experience of many countries, and we are utilizing this experience. We do not promise an easy and painless change, but we do promise a fair distribution of the burden of the crisis and the minimum possible social price for the ordinary working people, pensioners, students, and children.

For a New Agrarian Policy—the Land to Those Who Cultivate It

This year the government resolved a number of basic problems affecting agriculture: It abolished the state requisition orders, increased purchase prices, introduced market prices for a large proportion of agricultural products, cut interest rates, guaranteed minimum prices, and established minimum taxation. Thus, the market economy is already beginning in agriculture. How do things stand with the land question?

The land must belong to those to really want to work it and utilize it efficiently. The huge unexhausted possibilities of the cooperative farms must be preserved and developed, however, they must be built up on the voluntary principle, on a modern foundation, without distortions and interference "from above." At the same time, the BSP will conduct a policy that will facilitate the creation of private farms—one-person, family, or collective farms. Everyone who wishes to engage in agriculture must be able to obtain land that he can own without time limit, free of charge or in return for payment, and with the right of inheritance.

The BSP stands for efficient and sensible use of the land, while not permitting vacant plots and speculation. We insist on and will fight for the Bulgarian peasants to be supplied without delay with small- and medium-sized machines and other necessary equipment for modern agricultural production. We advocate the creation of a system of banks that will provide credits and assistance to private and cooperative farmers. We support a new land law that will restore the ownership of the land to those who cultivate it. This law should be submitted to nationwide discussion.

On Taxes and Interest Rates

The BSP supports a comprehensive tax reform, progressive taxation of citizens' incomes, and reductions in the tax on the profits of economic organizations. We advocate a taxation policy that encourages those with initiative and spares those in material difficulties. The BSP considers that a system of universal open and responsible declaration of incomes and property of the kind existing in the advanced states should be introduced in the country.

The BSP stands for a modern interest policy, for increasing the interest payable on all deposits, including those made by citizens. We advocate the elimination of the practice under which it is possible for banks or organizations to use people's money without paying interest. At the same time, however, the BSP opposes any substantial increase in the interest rates on housing loans, loans to young married couples, and loans to incapacitated and unjustly treated people.

Without a Free Spirit, the People Cannot Be Free

The BSP possesses its own contemporary Marxist ideology. However, we do not impose this ideology upon anyone. We are against making any ideology whatsoever an official, obligatory one. Ideology is a matter for personal conviction. The BSP strictly adheres to this principle and campaigns against all those who try to impose their own world view upon the people by compulsion.

Free, creative self-expression, the natural selection and confirmation of talent (not by the party!): These are the BSP's principles in the sphere of science, the arts, and culture.

At the same time, the BSP clearly recognizes the risks inherent in the market economy, and its responsibility to the world of Bulgarian science, art, and culture, and their proponents. We support a free exchange of intellectual values, but oppose the destruction of the individuality of our national cultural tradition and originality. We advocate the dissemination of intellectual products according to the law of supply and demand, but are against blind adherence to this principle, against vulgarizing culture, and against debasing values. The BSP stands for the adequate, public, and competitive subsidization of national science and culture, and for investing money in our greatest wealth, namely the talents of the nation. At the same time, we are against privileges for mediocrity.

Representatives of the Bulgarian intelligentsia! The BSP supports complete freedom for the creative person, public recognition of creative work, and adequate payment for this work, in view of its universal human value. The BSP advocates the creation of normal material conditions for the life of the intelligentsia, material and moral support for the intelligentsia, and unrestricted access to and contact with world art, science, and culture.

Party of Labor

The Bulgarian Socialist Party is a party of the working people, and proudly declares this. We are fighting to establish labor as a supreme human value and a basic national virtue. Not only the capable and the enterprising person, but every honorable person must have his chance to live with dignity though his labor. We stand for a radical improvement in working conditions. At the same time, we support the removal of all restrictions from labor.

However, the BSP is not a party that supports inefficient, poorly productive labor. The BSP is for highly productive labor, labor with a high scientific and technical standard, labor of high quality.

The BSP advocates a new grading and wage system for the work force. We campaign for low wages to be automatically increased to compensate for price rises.

The BSP if for untying the hands of the economic leaders and removing all barriers to their economic initiative. The leader must lead, not be led!

Workers! Do not permit the factories to fob you off with empty promises! The BSP advocates high worker participation in profits, and not high profits without worker participation.

Agricultural workers! You till the land, and it belongs to you. Only you are entitled to decide where you sell your products, which products you sell, and for what prices. The state has done enough meddling, and we have instructed you enough. The BSP is fighting for your right to choose.

Economic leaders! You personify the nation's competence. The BSP is fighting for removal of all the barriers to your initiative and independence. The speed with which we emerge from the crisis depends on you, and we have faith in you.

Rights and Security for Everyone

Rights of the Individual—With No Reservations

Everyone has the right to live where he wishes. The BSP stands for the repeal of the feudal "residence" system.

Everyone has the right to travel where he wishes in the world and to return when he wishes. The BSP advocates the abolition of the bureaucratic system of passport regulations and exit visas.

Everyone has the right to express his political convictions openly. The BSP supports freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of information.

Everyone has the right to decide himself whom he will marry or not marry and whether to have children or not. The BSP brought decisive influence to bear in the abolition of the humiliating tax on single persons.

Everyone has the right to a private life, and no one may interfere in it. The BSP is against any curricula vitae or biographies down to "the ninth-most distant relative;" it is against all denunciations and interference in a person's private life.

Everyone has the right of property inviolability. The BSP will campaign to ensure that no one has an opportunity to encroach on people's property.

We will also continue to defend the basic social rights of man, such as the right to work and the rights to free education and health care.

Modern Education

Irresponsible alterations have made our schools an object of endless reorganizations. The BSP supports universal secondary education, but is against it being compulsory. The BSP stands for a free atmosphere in the schools, but is against making reduced demands upon students and against lack of discipline. Every school should have its own educational character.

The BSP supports the right of everyone to study in higher education establishments, as well as the right of choice. However, only the capable and industrious student should be educated **free of charge.**

The Bulgarian Socialist Party supports the autonomy of higher education establishments and schools, and much greater independence for teachers and college lecturers.

The BSP stands for depoliticizing the educational process, for educating children to respect and love Bulgaria, the people, and our history.

The BSP advocates modern material facilities for the Bulgarian school and a solid basis for financing education.

The BSP supports discipline and a calm atmosphere in the schools and higher education establishments, but at the same time stands for democracy in educational establishments.

Teachers! The BSP highly values your work, which benefits the whole nation. The BSP stands for raising the status of the Bulgarian teacher. **Scientific workers!** The party has done more than a little to create conditions for the development of Bulgarian science. However, our science lacked freedom of thought and freedom of creativity. The BSP will not permit a return to that time. **Students!** The BSP will fight to guarantee you wide opportunities for free education, as well as education against payment. Knowledge is the only criterion for privilege. The party supports state scholarships and credits for taking courses on special easy terms. It supports incentives for creativity, complete autonomy of the higher education establishments, and advocates the formation of a free university. **School students!** Many of you are already mature enough to deal with the problems of society. The BSP will fight for a modern education system, suitable for the wide interests of present-day young people and their level of political activity.

Health for All

We acknowledge health to be a supreme value and social goal, and concern with preserving health a basic human right. In implementing this right, we are guided by the principles of universal accessibility and guaranteed satisfaction of all basic health needs: preventative treatment, medical treatment, and rehabilitation; high quality of health services; and enlightened participation in reaching decisions connected with health matters.

These principles also determine the supraparty and long-term character of health policy. The BSP considers that Bulgaria needs precisely such a policy.

We will campaign for a society free of tobacco smoke, alcoholism, and drug abuse. We will strive to develop a system of health care that adds **life to years, and not years to life.** This cannot be a market commodity. We categorically defend the position that in the conditions of the market economy health care must be **free of charge.**

The BSP is for a strong, modern, and well-provided state sector in the national health-care system. At the same time, we will stimulate the development of private and cooperative forms of health care, including through providing credits and tax allowances. We will guarantee **the right of choice** of doctor and stomatologist.

Yes, to an intelligent, democratic, and scientifically substantiated health policy.

No, to bureaucracy, callousness, incompetence, trading and speculating with people's feelings in everything relating to health.

Social Justice

In the forthcoming, inevitable troubles of everyday life, the BSP will guarantee the stability of those who are threatened the most. We will never and under no circumstances relinquish the social protection and security of our retired fathers and mothers, children and grandchildren, families with many children, the sick, disabled, and the temporarily unemployed. **We will struggle so that no man is abandoned.**

Elderly People

They are exposed the most to the blows of inflation. They need **compensation** for the rise in the cost of living. The BSP adheres to increasing each pension according to price increases. We will struggle to introduce a regime of frozen prices for the basic foodstuffs, and especially for those used by elderly people. We insist upon introducing free food and care for the lonely and helpless elderly people and free food and treatment for the sick pensioners. Simultaneously, the BSP opposes any restrictions on the right of every pensioner to continue his work, if he is willing and if the appropriate possibility exists.

The Mothers

Under the present social and legal system, the mothers are "torn" between motherhood and their professional development, between the economy and their family. We support such a system under which the mother who has decided to devote herself to the family and to the education of her children will be relieved of the economic need to work. Motherhood is not merely a profession, but the most noble and human vocation, for which society must pay **not a minimum existence wage, but a social minimum wage (from 140 leva per month as the situation now is, to 200 leva per month.)** The BSP thinks that at the first stage the mothers must receive at least such a minimum wage until their child reaches the age of two years. Gradually, the social minimum wage must encompass the period until the smallest child enters school.

The Children

It would be a crime to allow the crisis to affect children. We support free and privileged treatment, free and privileged sports activity, and free and privileged care for children. We support a new approach toward the prices of goods and foodstuffs for children. They should not be lower, but rather higher. **However, at the same time, subsidies must be given not to the producers, but to the parents in the form of increased children's benefits that will be added to wages.** We are for changing the present family benefits of 15, 40, and 65 leva, according to the number of children. They must reach 80 leva for every child.

The Young Specialists

We must part with the very concept "young specialist," which is a result of the practice of stagnation and false care. There are no young and old specialists, but capable and incapable specialists. The BSP adheres to equal pay for equal labor for all specialists, regardless of their age.

At the same time the BSP will conduct a policy aimed at increasing the minimum wage and stipends under conditions of increased inflation (the index system). This is a policy that will help many **young families** and many **young people.**

The Disabled

Labor in accordance with one's physical ability and guaranteed material and social life: These are the two main goals of the BSP in its policy toward the disabled. Not privileges for all on paper, but care for all in practice.

Young people! Perhaps many of you are, for the most part, disappointed with the mistakes and decadence allowed by the party. However, the party is in the process of profound reform. We have achieved a lot and the process continues. The BSP is seeking and will continue to hold responsible the criminals who still are its members, the corrupt, bureaucrats, and members of the rotten nomenklatura system. However, the BSP will preserve its ideals and its pure cadres, because hundreds of thousands of honest people are among its members. We know that your judgment is harsh: It must be so. However, we are convinced that many of you have preserved the faith in the BSP's future. The party needs you and your purity, energy, and idealism. Give them to the party: It will not disappoint you any longer.

Employees of the Bulgarian People's Army!

The BSP adheres to the reasonable sufficiency of Bulgaria's Armed Forces. We support the existence of small but efficient armed forces.

Officers! The BSP adheres to increasing the social status of the officers.

Petty officers and sergeants! The BSP supports strengthening your authority in the Army and society.

Soldiers and sailors! The BSP supports expanding your rights, increasing your dignity, and reducing the term of military service.

Law and order forces!

Not all of you are responsible for the violations and crimes of arrogant persons. The BSP supports strengthening your social prestige and increasing your status in a democratic state, for whose construction you are indispensable. We fully support the efforts of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to become a modern, extraparty, and national system of defending security, public order, and the citizens' rights and legal interests.

Bulgarian women, mothers, youth, young families and families with many children, and pensioners! Bulgaria is one of the countries with developed social rights for people and progressive social legislation. This is a result of our party's policy. Extended leave for pregnancy and motherhood, help for lonely mothers, and the envisioned support for those who are temporarily unemployed, as well as other social benefits, were implemented by this party and its **strong and stable social policy.**

Ecology—Above Parties

People are born with the equal right to pure air, water, and soil—a right to pure nature. However, our industrialization was a historical necessity. For it the country paid and continues to pay a very high socioecological price. It its ecological policy, the BSP will be guided by a **categorical ecological imperative:** The only criterion will be **the people's health.** We mean the health of those employed under aggravated ecological conditions and those who live in environments that are threatened from an ecological point of view.

Health and nature do not belong to any party. The BSP thinks that Bulgaria needs an extraparty ecological policy. This policy must have two supports:

On the one hand, there is the BSP's respect for all citizens' associations, organizations, and other groups that devote efforts, knowledge, and time to ecological protection.

On the other, there is the merciless nature of the law. There is not an ecological crime committed for which there is not someone who is responsible. By this we also mean those who concealed from the people the truth about the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe. This also applies to those who planned or agreed to projects and development that jeopardized our health.

We must not only clean up polluted areas. We must not pollute and avoid the ecological threat of man.

Many decrees on cleaning up polluted areas have already been adopted at the initiative of the BSP. However, this is not enough. The people are alarmed—and justly so. The party adheres to a very active ecological policy, which includes interrupting the production of enterprises that jeopardize people.

Privileged Municipalities?—No!

We have a grave inheritance in this sphere. At present there are cities and entire regions that are favored at the expense of others because of lack of control over their activity.

The BSP is for independence of municipalities in utilizing their own resources, equality in the interests of the various municipalities, and establishing equality for all in anything related to living conditions.

In order to implement this, it is necessary to increase the share of municipalities' income that remains in the municipalities' budget. They—the municipalities—must have the final say in constructing the infrastructure of the settlement. They must determine the territorial conditions for the functioning of the companies (protecting the environment, utilizing local resources, and so forth). The housing policy must improve. The municipalities must construct apartments that will be rented to the socially weak, while the rent is kept low. In order to improve the authority of the townships, the mayors must implement the budget and be responsible only to the population, while the budget is formed on the basis of the township's own income.

Peaceful Transition To Democracy

We Began the Transformation

The BSP leaders and nobody else opened the door of democracy for the population on 10 November. This was not only an act of personal courage and honesty, but also an expression of the firm elements in the party and its ability to struggle for freedom and justice.

Stalinism interrupted Bulgaria's democratic traditions. It also interrupted the attempt of the party, led by Georgi Dimitrov, to create a people's democratic social system in Bulgaria. The authoritarian system defiled the socialist idea, caused grave distortions and deformations, and corrupted many.

However, no crimes and distortions can or will obliterate the labor of two generations of Bulgarians. It is wrong and dishonest to negate everything that has been achieved in socialist Bulgaria. **We have already proposed national consensus, and propose it again.**

The BSP is conducting and will continue to conduct a policy of the outstretched hand toward all those who support real democracy. However, it cannot agree to the claim that the opposition, or anybody else, could independently and successfully complete the renewal. If this were true, then in November 1989 all the people would hardly have awaited precisely the results of our plenums.

Even from this point of view alone, the **opposition** claim that it is the only representative of the democratically disposed people in Bulgaria, is ridiculous. Any claim of exclusiveness on the part of any political force is in itself **a threat of a new dictatorship and a new authoritarian system.**

Dialogue Instead of Confrontation

Bulgaria now faces two roads: the first is the road of violence, clashes, and confrontation. The other is the road of dialogue, stability, national consensus, compromise, and partnership.

The BSP advocates a peaceful and civilized transition. We warn all our political opponents and all people: **The road of confrontation is dangerous. It conceals a great risk that could jeopardize peace in the country, our life, and the life of our children.**

We are not struggling for power for the sake of power. We do not want all the power. The BSP supports alliance and cooperation with all political and social forces in Bulgaria that adhere to radical democratic reforms. This is our position today, and it will remain so after the elections. Only if we act together can we rapidly construct democratic Bulgaria and guarantee the rapid solution of the crisis.

Pure and Holy Republic

Bulgaria is now facing three fateful dangers:

Politicking, which rapidly and inevitably leads toward political violence.

The wave of strikes, which is creating chaos in our already unstable economy.

The national rift—an exceptionally grave inheritance, our common problem.

In resolving the nationality issue, the BSP is guided **by the ideas of Deacon Levski, the apostle of the Bulgarian freedom: Equal rights and obligations for all citizens of the republic,** without any privileges based on religious, ethnic, or political principles.

Freedom of conscience and religion, customs, rites, and rituals.

The Bulgarian language is the official language of the country. There must be respect for the Bulgarian flag, the coat of arms, and the national anthem and its original text. Bulgaria's sovereignty and territorial integrity are inviolable.

Any and all political organizations that aim at or propagate ethnic and religious hostility must be banned.

No Bulgarian citizen should forget that he lives in the Balkans, and that the country's security and safety can be achieved only on the basis of firm internal unity.

The BSP appeals to the **Bulgarian Turkish-speaking population and the Bulgarian Muslims.** In the recent past, an irresponsible leadership committed serious distortions that affected you and offended your human dignity. However, the party found the force and restored your natural human rights. You must reach within yourselves and find the force necessary for reconciliation and national unity in the name of our common motherland. There is no other way!

Christians and Muslims! People of all religions! Religion is an alloy of ancient wisdom and a source of spiritual forces and ethics. At the core of democratic socialism are values professed by every religion: compassion, support for the weak, nonviolence, tolerance, and peace. The BSP is the party of Bulgaria's peaceful future!

For An All-European Home From the Atlantic To the Ural

Our traditional relations with Russia and the USSR represent great national, cultural, and economic capital. They are the guarantee of our national survival. The BSP is in favor of protecting and developing political, economic, and intellectual relations with the USSR.

The BSP supports Bulgaria's remaining in the Warsaw Pact. As long as military blocs continue to exist, our national sovereignty and security require that we continue to be a member of the Warsaw Pact.

Restructuring in the USSR afforded the Soviet and the East European peoples possibilities for free development and strengthening and expanding relations among them.

Constructing democratic socialism in Bulgaria requires us to broadly open Bulgaria toward Europe. Bulgaria must worthily participate in constructing the common European home. This means heading along the road toward an integrated Europe in which our country will not be surrounded by the wall of isolation, but **will benefit from** and albeit modestly, **will contribute** to a pan-European culture. **Our country will become part of the modern economy,** and will adhere to a **policy** based on human rights, disarmament, understanding, and peace.

Alliance Of Two Great Ideas—Democracy and Socialism

The knot of problems that the country faces is great and complicated. The difficulties lie in the contradictions and the dangers—in the pace. We need a radical economic reform, but we cannot allow an uncontrolled fall in the standard of living. We need democracy, but cannot allow chaos and disorder. We want the accelerated development of production, but no ecological disasters. We strive toward a total opening to Europe and the world, without, however, violating our national consciousness and independence.

To resolve the contradictions means to avoid extremes and shocks treatment. This means that we must base our activity on three principles: modern solutions, competence, and realism.

Now we are being attacked because of socialism. The fact that such a great idea has been stained by unclean hands is not our responsibility but our problem. The fate of the great universal achievements is grave but implacable —they all must withstand the crucible of the tests. Christianity outlived the inquisition. Socialism also outlived its own inquisition. This is because socialism, i.e., freedom, democracy, social justice, equality, solidarity, and social security, are eternal human values.

Today everyone understands that only an alliance of democracy—this other great martyr—and socialism can create a happy and human society. The new time, our time, is the time of this alliance.

Our Party's Second Century

We have also been attacked because of our name—the BSP. Some people say that we are only changing the label. Others reproach us for relinquishing our century-old past. The truth is different: the dictatorship before 10 November was not only a dictatorship over the people, but also a dictatorship over the party. The authoritarian regime cruelly oppressed every attempt at renewal. However, it could not destroy the living reform tendency of the party. It was this tendency that prevailed on 10 November.

The renewed and renewing BSP, which denied oppression as a method and the unreal and utopian models of social system, does not claim an authoritarian position or exclusivity, but only one thing: It claims that it is a party of the working people that will construct democratic socialism in Bulgaria.

We do not promise mountains of wealth. We promise worthy conditions of labor, freedom of initiative, social justice, and encouragement for the strong and protection for the weak.

These are the goals we have set ourselves and for which we seek your support.

Citizens of Bulgaria!

If you vote for the BSP, you are voting for democratic socialism.

We all feel today the end of apathy and fear. We all see today the beginning of a great social energy. The released power can construct, but it can also destroy. It can unite, but it could also divide.

We are for construction and unity in the name of:

Peaceful transition to democracy!

Rights and Security for All!

A radical change for all!

Poll Shows Members Favor BCP's Name Change

AU0604105990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
4 Apr 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Referendum Results"]

[Text] The number of Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] members was established as being 983,899 on 1 January 1990. Of this number, 893,738 members are registered with primary party organizations, and 90,161 people are in the process of being re-enrolled. A total of 726,000 people participated in the referendum on changing the name of the BCP to the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], which means 81.23 percent of those enrolled in the primary party organizations, or 73.78 percent of all party members.

A total of 629,522 people voted in favor of the party's new name—which represents 86.71 percent of the voters and 63.98 percent of all party members, while 91,973 people voted against the party's new name, which represents 12.66 percent of the voters and 9.35 percent of all party members. A total of 4,505 ballots, or 0.62 percent were invalid.

BSP Spokesman Answers Opposition's Protest

AU0704155390 Sofia BTA in English
2111 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 6 (BTA)—In reply to the declaration made by the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF] a few days ago, this evening the spokesman for the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), Mr. Filip Bokov, read a declaration on the Bulgarian Television which disproves what was said by the SDS regarding the powers of the president-elect of the country. The SDS considers that the president has been given greater rights than those envisaged in the agreement signed by the roundtable.

It is alarming that threats are made for some unexpected actions on the part of the SDS, for which the BSP will have to bear the responsibility, Mr. Bokov said, commenting on the declaration of the SDS.

He pointed out that no one else but the SDS itself would have to bear the responsibility for the actions of its members "who are not particularly friendly disposed." Mr. Filip Bokov explained that he has in mind the group of SDS supporters who on April 3 tried to challenge the participants in the rally organized by the BSP by shouting "Mafia" and "Boors."

Further on the opposition is accused of escalating social tension and of being unwilling to hold the election campaign in a calm atmosphere.

In conclusion Mr. Bokov stated that the declarations and the actions of the opposition raise many questions "on the reply to which it depends whether the elections would be free and democratic or Bulgaria would be plunged into confrontation." The responsibility for it should be borne by the side which provokes the clashes, the BSP spokesman said.

Housing Problem of Returning Muslims Viewed

AU0904094590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
5 Apr 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman Nora Ananieva by Mitko Bozhkov; place and date not given: "A Government Document For Citizens Returning From Turkey Is Under Preparation"]

[Text] A government document likely to solve the following important problems is expected to be adopted in the near future: The accelerated allocation of plots for construction sites; the transfer of additional financial and material resources; amendments to the procedure of using temporarily occupied housing units and in the system of classifying homeless citizens; the restitution of residence permits to all citizens who have traveled to Turkey; and numerous other problems concerning those who are returning....

This is what government Deputy Chairman Nora Ananieva declared in an interview given in connection with the continuing hunger strike of citizens who have returned from Turkey and who are still sitting in the small park near the seat of the Holy Synod in Sofia, insisting that their homes should be returned to them. Posters with appeals and declarations are hanging there, according to which these citizens are resolved not to leave the capital before they have obtained a written confirmation that their demands will be satisfied.

[Bozhkov] What are the basic reasons for this protest action?

[Ananieva] As you well know, over 330,000 Bulgarian citizens left for Turkey last year, and one-third of them came back. As a matter of fact, 4,036 of the unforunate "tourists" have sold their homes, while 1,446 submitted applications that their homes should be returned to them. The municipal people's councils have so far resolved 408 cases on the basis of the existing legal norms. This fact alone indicates that we are expected to cope with urgent social problems.

[Bozhkov] What is the chief request upon which the hunger strikers so stubbornly insist?

[Ananieva] They demand that all sales contracts relating to their homes should be annulled at once and that they should immediately return to their former homes, which were sold. In our view, the annulment of all sales contracts is likely to affect the legitimate interests of other citizens, who signed such contracts in perfectly good faith. This is certainly not in the interest of our efforts for national reconciliation.

[Bozkov] What is the government's stand in this respect?

[Ananieva] The government bases its considerations on the law and, above all, on its conviction that the problems should be justly resolved and that no group of citizens whatsoever should be adversely affected. A group of legal experts are expected to be dispatched on the spot and to become familiar with each individual case in order to find a just and painless solution for every complicated situation. The government instruction envisions a total amount of 80 million leva, but I think that less money will be required. The Council of Ministers is not indifferent to the fate of these Bulgarian citizens, but for understandable reasons, the solution of their problems cannot be achieved as promptly as we would wish.

Government Acts on Muslims' Housing Problems

AU0604190890 Sofia BTA in English
1739 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 6 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers adopted a decree on the solution of some social problems of the Bulgarian citizens who returned from Turkey. The houses bought by the executive committees of the municipal people's councils in 1989 which have not been sold to other physical or juridical persons and which are not occupied will be offered for sale to their former owners.

Rights Movement Claims Delays in Restoring Names

AU0604190690 Sofia BTA in English
1730 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 6 (BTA)—The implementation of the prescriptions of the Bulgarian Citizens' Names Law is deliberately protracted, it is said in a declaration of the Central Council of the Right and Freedoms Movement. The names law made it possible to for the Muslims to restore their Turko-Arab names which they were deprived of in the 1970's and in the 1983-1985 period. According to the leadership of the movement, artificial unemployment is tendentiously maintained or created among part of the population of the country. Most of the members of the movement are Muslims.

The declaration insists on giving the people who returned from Turkey the possibility to live in their own homes.

The movement demands an amnesty for all political prisoners, including those who were sentenced during the so-called "revival" process when the names of the Turkish-speaking population were changed.

As a token of protest, the Central Council of the Rights and Freedoms Movement declares relay hunger strikes and silent protests in front of city halls, courts and committees of the ruling party.

Progress Report on Names Restoration Process

*AU0604190590 Sofia BTA in English
1750 GMT 6 Apr 90*

["Strict Observance of Names Law"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 6 (BTA)—According to the information received by the Council of Ministers, the activity related to the restoration of the former names of the Bulgarians which were forcibly changed is carried out in compliance with the prescriptions contained in the Bulgarian Citizens' Names Law. By April 4, 1990, the applications filed with the municipal people's councils were 104,187 and orders were issued by the district courts for 7,648 of them.

There are reports that in separate cases there are deviations from the law-imposed procedures.

In some municipalities applications have been filed by which not only the restoration of former names is required, but a request is made for their being changed. Some district courts have issued orders allowing besides the restoration of former names their change, too. This is a breach of the provisions contained in Paragraph 2 of the previous and the final prescriptions of the Bulgarian Citizens' Names Law. The competent authorities have been assigned the task of making a checkup and taking measures for the strict observance of the law, it is said in an announcement circulated here.

Kurdzhali Muslims Stage Hunger Strike

*AU0904113790 Sofia BTA in English
1056 GMT 9 Apr 90*

["Relay Hunger Strike"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 9 (BTA)—In the central square of Kurdzhali (a town in southern Bulgaria), at 9 o'clock a.m. a group of young people went on a relay hunger strike. The strike will be continued by another group after three days. Strikes have been declared in other municipalities of the former Kurdzhali County. Mumun Emin, chairman of the Regional Operational Bureau of the Rights and Freedoms Movement (most members of which are Muslims), stated the major demands of the strikers, which are mainly made in connection with the application of the Bulgarian Citizens Names Law. Objections are raised against the regulation according to which all names are to end in the masculine suffixes "-ov" or "-ev" and the respective feminine ones "-ova" and "-eva" which are not of Turko-Arab origin. At the moment names are changed through courts of law, but in many places and blank forms it is not mentioned that the question is about forcibly changed names. A protest is made against not changing the names of children born after 1984-1985. Can parents' names be different from those of their children, Mumun Emin said.

Politburo Decision on Labor Camps Disclosed

*AU0604191190 Sofia BTA in English
1734 GMT 6 Apr 90*

[Text] Sofia, April 6 (BTA)—From a session protocol of the Politburo of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] CC [Central Committee] held on January 21, 1958, which was published here, it becomes obvious that the Communist Party leadership deemed it necessary to "organize the internment of outright and harmful-for-the-public-peace hooligans, inveterate thieves, and other demoralized elements for forced labor aimed at reforming them." Todor Zhivkov, the dictator ousted on November 10 last year, presented a report on the subject of "intensifying the struggle against the acts of hooliganism" at the session. Stanko Todorov, the present National Assembly chairman and Supreme Council member of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, also attended the session.

The Politburo decision was discussed at today's session of the special commission helping the investigation of the crimes and abuses committed in the camps at Lovech and in other places in the country. The commission studied some other recently discovered archive materials. It becomes clear that on closing the camps at Lovech and Skravena in April 1962, 30 women and 213 men were released. After investigating the cases of 17 men, five of them were brought before the court.

Archive documents related to the camps' inmates interned for political considerations are being searched for.

Premier on Protecting Wages Against Inflation

*AU0604205690 Sofia BTA in English
2016 GMT 6 Apr 90*

["Lukanov on Economic Reform's Social Price"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 6 (BTA)—The leader of the Bulgarian Government, Mr. Andrey Lukanov, today announced that measures are being taken to adjust wages to the percentage of inflation by indexing the incomes of the population for three months.

Mr. Lukanov's regular press conference today was devoted to the programme for overcoming the economic crisis and implementing the economic reform approved by the National Assembly at the end of last week.

Paying due attention to the social aspect of the reform, Mr. Andrey Lukanov said that the most serious problems are those of prices and the inflation, which is unavoidable.

In Mr. Lukanov's view pricing should be controlled to avoid any speculations.

Concerning unemployment, his view is that it should be overcome by rapidly creating new jobs and rechanneling the redundant to the sphere of services, small and medium-scale production and private enterprise. It would be good to channel free labour to agriculture.

He spoke about the country's foreign debt, pointing out that in connection with the temporary freeze on the payments announced by the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank, consultations began with its partners. We would like to hope that they will show understanding, Mr. Andrey Lukanov said.

Kirchev Elected Leader of Independent Students

*AU0704184790 Sofia BTA in English
1732 GMT 7 Apr 90*

[Text] Sofia, April 7 (BTA)—Atanas Kirchev became the new chairman of the Federation of Independent Student Associations. He was elected to this post by the National Federal Council at an extended session today.

Atanas Kirchev is 24 years old, a student in the third course at the Department of Law of the St. Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia.

Some time ago Emil Koshlukov, the former chairman of the federation, stated on television that he was going to give up his post because his mandate expired. At the moment he is on the election staff of the Union of Democratic Forces.

Cooperative Farms Union Established

*AU0604191090 Sofia BTA in English
1738 GMT 6 Apr 90*

[Text] Plovdiv, April 6 (BTA)—The representatives of 1,200 cooperative farms today set up a Union of Cooperative Farms. The headquarters of the organization will be seated in Plovdiv.

Proposals were made to provide the union with legislative functions in the field of agriculture. It was insisted on bringing to account the leaders who plunged agriculture into its present critical situation.

First Issue of MAKEDONIYA Announced

*AU0604195690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
5 Apr 90 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "First Issue of MAKEDONIYA Newspaper Appears"]

[Excerpts] The first issue of the newspaper MAKEDONIYA has appeared. It is a publication of the "Makedoniya" All-Bulgarian Union for History, Culture, and Politics, and is edited by director Maya Vaptsarova and editor-in-chief Rumen Paskov. It is the successor of the daily MAKEDONIYA, which was edited by Petko R. Slaveykov in Constantinople in 1866 while he was engaged in the struggle for the cultural education and unification of Bulgarians in Mysia, Thracia, and Macedonia. [passage omitted]

The main task of the newly published newspaper will be to provide truthful information about the history and culture of Bulgarians in Macedonia since the 13th century. The newspaper MAKEDONIYA is expected to be a permanent source of moral support for all Bulgarians throughout the world and the most reliable champion of the truth about Macedonia.

Youth Newspaper Becomes Independent

*AU0704155590 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 6 Apr 90*

[Text] An editorial board declaration of the NARODNA MLADEZH daily and the Bulgarian Democratic Youth chairman and deputy chairman, which has been sent to BTA, states that the two sides have agreed that both a general youth daily and a newspaper of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth must exist. The NARODNA MLADEZH daily becomes a general youth daily, in respect of which the Bulgarian Democratic Youth has no publishing rights and responsibilities.

Until all the technical matters affecting the two newspapers are settled, a contact group will function, while the NARODNA MLADEZH daily will continue to be a political and news daily and to use the same material facilities.

Dienstbier Proposes European Security Commission

LD0604220190 Prague CTK in English 1520 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 6 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier handed over here today to the ambassadors of 34 CSCE countries and Albania's charge d'affairs a memorandum on a European security commission.

The memorandum contains details on the Czechoslovak proposal to start building a new European security system.

The commission, members of which would be the Helsinki process participating states, would constitute a standing all-European platform for considering questions concerning security on the continent and for seeking solutions to them. The European security commission would be active along with the existing groupings—the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, and independently of them.

Czechoslovakia proposes that the commission be headquartered in Prague.

Political developments in the world and, particularly, in Europe are unfolding with such a speed that the existing institutions are no longer in step with them. After years of confrontation Europe finds itself at the start of a new stage. This gives rise to new possibilities but also to certain risks, the memorandum on a European security commission said.

The division of Europe in two parts, as well as the division of Germany in two states, has outlived itself. The sources of potential European conflicts are more heterogenous than has until now been envisaged by the bipolar confrontational system. From this follows the necessity of conceiving European security more broadly and of including in it, in addition to political and military, also economic, environmental and humanitarian aspects, as well as the possibility of other threats.

We believe that the best suitable basis on which to build a unified all-European security system is provided by the CSCE process. Seeking new possible approaches, we proceed from the positive lessons learned so far in the CSCE process, as well as from the need to respond to the development in Germany and to the profound social changes in central and Eastern Europe.

Czechoslovakia proposes, in the first stage, the establishment of a European security commission comprised of the participating states of the Helsinki process. Its justification is seen by us in the fact that it would provide an until now missing, permanent all- European platform for the consideration of questions relating to security on the continent, and for seeking their solution. This European security commission would operate side by side with the existing two groupings and independently of them.

The formation of an effective system of European security would in the second stage be facilitated by the establishment, on a treaty basis, of an organization of European states, including the United States and Canada.

The third stage would culminate in a confederated Europe of free and independent states.

The European security commission would operate on the basis of consensus. It would initially fulfil consultative, coordinating and certain verification functions and, later on, such functions as would be agreed by the participating states.

The commission would meet at the level of ministers of foreign affairs and their permanent representatives. Regular sessions at the ministerial level would be held at least once a year. Extraordinary sessions could be convened at the request of participating states.

Subordinated to the commission would be a military committee composed of military representatives of the CSCE participating states. It would be meeting at least once a year and would deal with questions specified by the commission. For the purpose of the implementation of its tasks, the commission may establish auxiliary bodies. The necessary technical services for the commission would be secured by a not very sizeable, operative, permanent secretariat.

Czechoslovakia offers Prague as the permanent seat of the commission. At the request of the participating states the commission could also meet elsewhere.

The forthcoming summit of the 35 participating countries, which will consider important questions of the further development of security and cooperation in Europe, could adopt a decision on creating organizational prerequisites for the establishment of the European security commission as a nucleus of a new security structure on the continent.

Spokesman for the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Lubos Dobrovsky announced today that Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier is to meet with ambassadors of 34 CSCE countries on April 30 to discuss their stands on and impetuses to the memorandum.

Further on Security Commission Proposal

LD0604221690 Prague Television Service in Czech 2000 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier by unidentified reporter in Prague on 6 April—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Asked if the European Security Commission proposal envisages some kind of mechanism which would prevent the forming of new antagonisms in Europe, Minister Dienstbier said:

[Begin recording] [Dienstbier] Of course, no plan has mechanisms, but that is what we need to form and what we propose, because the Helsinki process has so far been—that is, the results of the Helsinki process and the follow-up conferences so far have been—most often recommendations. And this is not possible regarding security questions; as far as security questions are concerned, there is a need for a mechanism.

We propose both a permanent committee of foreign ministers and a security and military committee subordinated to it, which would be concerned with a wide range of various issues, but above all with the forming of those mechanisms—for instance, in mutual assistance in case of an attack, etc.

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, is such a so-called European structure to be accepted as well by those West European countries which have already been working on the basis of their structures, such as the European Council and European Parliament, etc., which have already demonstrated their usefulness? Will not your plan contradict these bodies and structures?

[Dienstbier] We count on the European Council as the first possible pan-European organization. It is an organization based on the principle of a state observing the rule of law and on respect for human rights. That means it is based on those common values of the European political culture which we all must accept if we want to have some cooperation. As far as the European Parliament or European Communities are concerned, these are, of course, so far the institutions of a certain part of Europe. Nevertheless, during all my talks I found that all knew that there was a need to do something in this new situation, that Europe did not consist of only 12 states, that European security could not be guaranteed only within the NATO framework—this I mean from their point of view, that there was a need to aim, though perhaps very cautiously, at forming new security structures. The old structures can of course be used, and use can be made of all positive and negative experiences gathered from them.

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, can we understand the new plan as a certain executive structure of the Helsinki process—the process which lacked such a structure, such a body?

[Dienstbier] This is exactly what we are striving for: to begin with, to form the institutions within the framework of the Helsinki process, the institutions of unification, European unification and cooperation. [end recording]

Defense Ministry Denies Role in Semtex Trade

LD0604174990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] The British daily THE INDEPENDENT returned to the subject of sales of the Semtex explosive abroad, and in this connection it has announced, as a sensational item, that the Czechoslovak Army, having close relations with the Libyan Army, allegedly played a role in additional deliveries of Semtex to Libya.

The Ministry of National Defense sharply distances itself from the above statements. It has announced that our Army has never used this explosive and never had it in stock. For this reason it could never have participated in trade involving it; similarly, leading Czechoslovak experts, active abroad in the past, did not grant expert instruction on the use of Semtex and did not take part in exercises with this explosive.

Removal of Austrian Border Barriers Continues

LD0704210690 Prague CTK in English 1332 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Bratislava April 7 (CTK)—The second stage of removing barriers on the Czechoslovak border with Austria has started at Zahorska Ves West Slovakia today. The removal of the "iron curtain" ceremony was attended by Czechoslovak Interior Minister Richard Sacher.

He said on this occasion that the Czechoslovak border with Austria has always been a kind of barometer demonstrating the situation in both countries. This barometer now forecasts prospects of good neighbourly relations and friendship between the two states.

Richard Sacher announced that barriers have been removed so far from 180 kilometres of the 650-kilometre-long Czechoslovak border with Austria and the FRG. The remaining barriers are to be removed by the end of this October.

Together with the barriers also the so-called border zone, in which Czechoslovak citizens were forbidden to move freely, will be removed and thus 146,000 hectares of land, 18,000 of which are arable, will be available for further use.

Slovak Premier Cic, Austria's Mock on Relations

LD0704212790 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Report on interview with Slovak Premier Milan Cic and Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock by editor Ivan Brozik in Vienna; date not given—recorded; Mock speaks in German with superimposed Slovak translation]

[Text] [Announcer] The name of our state was discussed during a three-day official visit to Austria by the premier of the Slovak Government, which he interrupted for a while because of the talks held in Lany. As you know, his stay ends today. This is why editor Ivan Brozik asked Milan Cic and Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock for an interview:

[Brozik] These three days were full of discussion about various subjects, ranging from cooperation in the field of policy, to economy and culture. It is possible to state already that there is real interest in such a relationship based on the coexistence of Slovakia and the Austrian Republic. Nevertheless, the partners also exchanged views on domestic policy issues. Our dialogue about the prospects of the Czechoslovak federation is being followed very attentively in Austria. This subject was included in the two statesmen's exchange of views. I asked Mr. Milan Cic what he stressed when answering this question during his talks in Vienna:

[Begin recording] [Cic] I did not [word indistinct] our approach to this important question, meaning also the attitude toward the Czech nation. We still insist on what we subscribed to long ago in our history: We want to coexist with the Czech nation, in one common federative republic—of course, such a republic will recognize the identity and sovereignty of the Czech and Slovak nations and will enable the development of these nations according to the wishes of each nation, to let it find its own identity. That would be beneficial for the entire Czechoslovak federation; neither did I exclude some amendments, some corrections in the whole development, but, for the time being, this is the approach to this principle issue.

[Brozik] The disputes about the name of the republic could become some kind of tip of he iceberg?

[Cic] I said on our television that this was the tip of an iceberg, that there was a number of serious economic, social, and other problems here, and that there was a need to tackle them. We agreed with the Czech Government that we would speak of these questions very openly, that we would assess them critically and objectively in the interest of solving them since there should be no question between nations close to each to other which cannot be solved in a normal, peaceful, rather humane way.

[Brozik] What is the attitude of the Austrian side toward this situation?

[Mock] There is no question that it is a sovereign matter for the Czechs and Slovaks concerning what kind of state they will form. Everybody builds his own house, but of course our interest is your building your house without conflicts. This is also a prerequisite for our good-neighborly relations. We as your neighbors expect that the Czechoslovak federation and mutual relations between Austria and Czechoslovakia will develop on this presumption. Of course, there are many practical questions: We have totally different currencies and difficulties arising from this. Nevertheless, I am convinced that we are going to overcome these problems.

[Brozik] A new philosophy of our life together is being formulated. How would you define it?

[Mock] I would call it a philosophy of the least complicated mutual relations under certain conditions. Visits, such as Mr Cic's stay in Vienna, are very important. It is a positive contribution toward improving the quality of the political climate. [end recording]

Cic Ends Visit

LD0704213190 Prague CTK in English 1704 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Vienna April 7 (CTK Correspondent)—Slovak Premier Milan Cic ended a three-day working visit to Austria at the invitation of the mayor of Vienna Helmut Zilk here Saturday.

The Slovak premier visited Salzburg today to hold talks with city representatives inter alia about preparations for and participation in a significant cultural event "mozart's year 1991".

Dubcek, Cic Discuss Nationality Issues

AU0804191190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Apr 90 p 5

[CTK report: "Cic With Dubcek"]

[Text] Bratislava—On Sunday [1 April], Slovak Premier Milan Cic held a meeting with Alexander Dubcek, Federal Assembly chairman, in the Slovak Republic Government office. With the participation of Jozef Stank, Federal Assembly deputy chairman, and other representatives, they discussed the issues that have arisen in connection with the adoption of the constitutional law on the republic's name. At the same time, they discussed the issues contained in the Slovak National Council and Slovak Government statement and also the course of action for its implementation. The meeting's participants expressed their allegiance to the principles of the coexistence of the Czech and Slovak nations and other nationalities in the joint federation. Any attempt at disrupting mutual coexistence between the Czech and Slovak nations is unacceptable and threatens our transition to a pluralist, democratic, and humane society and also denigrates our federation's good name and international standing.

Sacher Statement on Security Corps Screening

LD0604205990 Prague CTK in English 0840 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 6 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Interior Minister Richard Sacher has issued a statement voicing surprise at the criticism of the opening of the archives of his ministry from the 1950's.

The minister says that it is surprising with what concern the opening of the archives is followed by certain members of the commission which is screening members of the former State Security Corps and other parts of the Interior Ministry, and which is to decide who of them can continue to work in the ministry.

Minister Sacher voiced the conviction that most citizens of Czechoslovakia welcome the opening of the archives which is a prerequisite of a consistent purification of the security apparatus, adding that the totalitarian power was founded just in the 1950's.

Richard Sacher responded in his statement to the standpoint of the civil members of the ministry's screening commission in which they voiced the view that the opening of the ministry's archives just in case of chairman of the central civil commission Oldrich Hromadko is an attack against the concept of consistent purification of the ministry which is asserted by Oldrich Hromadko, and abuse of the ministry's archives for political-power struggle.

Discusses Jun Election Plans

LD0604221990 Prague CTK in English 1950 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 6 (CTK)—Elections to the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly and to the national councils will be held on June 8-9 and about 7,600,000 Czech citizens and 3,640,000 Slovak citizens will have the right to vote. They will cast their votes in more than 15,000 electoral districts.

It was said at a press conference here today by Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior Richard Sacher who is at the head of a preparatory commission.

He stated that people held in prison or in detention also have the right to vote. Polling-booths will be at hospitals, homes for disabled etc. Election commissions with ballot-boxes will also visit immovable persons who will be interested in voting.

By the end of March 1990, 33 political parties and movements were registered in Czechoslovakia. Due to the fact that some parties will run for the elections as coalitions, their exact number is not known yet. In contradistinction to the last elections when only one list of candidates existed, now there will be about 15 lists.

A pre-election campaign starts in Czechoslovakia on April 29 and ends 48 hours before the opening of polling stations. After that campaigning is forbidden.

As Minister Sacher said measures have been taken to prevent manipulation of results of the elections which should be made known on June 10, in the evening.

Parity representation of political parties is ensured in election commissions at all levels.

Reportage on Sacher 3 Apr News Conference

AU0904104290

[Editorial Report] Several Czech dailies on 4 April publish reports on a news conference by Interior Minister Richard Sacher in Prague on 3 April.

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 4 April on page 6 carries a 600-word Jan Kastanek report entitled "The Archives Will Be Opened." Reporting on Sacher's replies, Kastanek says: "R. Sacher replied to two questions from the LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE correspondent. Regarding the opening of archives from the fifties and the existence of special-regime labor camps (such as the ill- famous 'Jerab' camp near Jachymov), the minister confirmed that these documents will be made accessible because the totalitarian system started in February 1948 and the people are entitled to find out everything about it that has been kept secret until now. He added that the archive materials concerning the Jerab labor camp, for instance, contain facts which are literally shocking. In his reply to the second question, he denied an assertion made by a representative of the FRG Office for the Protection of the Constitution to the effect that there exists wire-tapping equipment at the border between the GDR and Czechoslovakia on the one hand and the FRG on the other. 'Such a practice would run counter to our new foreign policy and to good-neighborly relations,' the minister added."

According to the LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE reporter, Sacher was also confronted with the observation of a journalist that "among the demonstrators protesting against the name of the republic in Bratislava [on 30 March], one was able to see the well-known faces of former State Security members in the role of active instigators." The minister reportedly requested the journalist to supply him with "more specific data" so that this accusation can be investigated.

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 4 April on page 1 carries a 500- word "mly, jad"-signed correspondents' report on the news conference, entitled "Lorenc Finally in Custody." According to the report, Sacher declared that "the lists of informers of the former State Security will not be published because the ministry fears anonymous settling of accounts. However, these secret materials will be made available to the newly set up Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy, which will see to it that cooperation between agents and former State Security members does not continue."

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 4 April on page 5 carries a 500- word Nada Adamickova report entitled "The Black Book Closed." Replying to the RUDE PRAVO correspondent's question about the existence of the "so-called black book of undesirable persons, to whom travel documents must not be issued," Sacher reportedly said that the keeping of such files has been discontinued and that "this book will lose its validity completely as soon as the new travel law comes into force." According to the minister, the new law will specifically enumerate all reasons for denying a person travel documents.

Prague PRACE in Czech on 4 April on page 2 carries a 650-word Petr Hirsch report entitled "Even a Tortoise Moves Forward." According to the PRACE report, the minister expressed dissatisfaction with the "incredibly slow pace" of screenings of former State Security members. However, he also called for a "very sensitive approach lest we lose decent professionals," all the more so as "some third countries have expressed an eminent interest in them." The PRACE report also quotes Sacher's reply to Hirsch's question about the "problem of the former structures' share in the capital of some foreign firms." Sacher is said to have replied: "I am aware of this. However, it would be premature at the present stage to draw any conclusions. The question of 'uncovering' all the operations of the former Ministry of Interior is, in general, a longer-term affair. I understand that the public is impatient, but we cannot do everything all at once."

State Security Equipment Reported Missing

AU0604153890 Prague PRACE in Czech 3 Apr 90 p 3

["(mlk)"-signed report: "State Security Equipment for the Criminal Police"]

[Text] The Ministry of Interior is in a financial crisis. Due to the budgetary cuts, it is out of the question to even consider any improvements in technological equipment belonging to the National Security Corps. This equipment is in a catastrophic state. The criminal police and the Public Security Corps lack practically everything: cars, computers, radio transmitters, and laboratory facilities. At the same time, they work with the maximum effort possible using only a pad and a pencil—and clenched teeth. Moreover, according to Interior Minister Richard Sacher, criminal activity has increased significantly this year: robbery by 350 percent, burglary by 200 percent, and other kinds of thefts by approximately 50-100 percent. Prior to November, most of our people thought that in this county—in which nothing worked properly—at least the police did not have any problems. But this is not true, at least as far as the criminal police are concerned. State Security might be a different case. This is why a lot of people are asking where have the enormous financial means spent on State Security in past years disappeared to? Where has the fantastic equipment disappeared to and why has it not been made available to the criminal police? Would it not be more useful to put this equipment to work on a more useful objective: to ensure peace and safety in our country?

New Deputy Federal Premiers Appointed

LD0604143390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] At the proposal of Federal Premier Marian Calfa, President Vaclav Havel today recalled Frantisek Reichel from the post of deputy federal premier and chairman of the state commission for scientific-technical and investment development, and appointed Academician Armin Delong to replace him.

He recalled from the post of deputy federal premier Oldrich Bursky, deputy federal premier and minister of agriculture and food. At the proposal of Marian Calfa, Vaclav Havel appointed Vaclav Vales and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier as deputy federal premiers.

New Appointees Sworn In

LD0604172390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] According to Article 61 of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation, and at the proposal of Federal Premier Marian Calfa, President Vaclav Havel has recalled Valtr Komarek and Jan Carnogursky from their posts of first deputy premiers. He has also recalled Frantisek Reichel from the post of federal deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific, Technical, and Investment Development, and Oldrich Bursky from the post of deputy premier.

He then appointed Valtr Komarek, Jan Carnogursky, Vaclav Vales, and Jiri Dienstbier as federal deputy premiers, and appointed Armin Delong as deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific, Technical, and Investment Development, and Oldrich Bursky as federal minister of agriculture and food.

The newly appointed members of the federal government were sworn in today by Vaclav Havel at Lany Castle, in the presence of Marian Calfa.

Calfa on Economic Reform, Government

LD0604202590 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Speech by Federal Premier Marian Calfa; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear fellow citizens: I speak to you at a time when the government of national understanding is finalizing preparations for economic reform. We feel time pressing upon us, and we realize how urgent the need is for new legislation to loosen restrictions on collective and individual business activity. It is no surprise that time is flying by so quickly.

Once again we will be working this Sunday, because the Federal Government will be in session again. Here I want to say that we are doing everything in our power to ensure that this transition period, in which we are casting off the old but have not yet fully brought in the new, will be as brief as possible. In this endeavour, of course, various kinds of ultimatums and strike threats are of no help to us. Although they are often deeply justified, more and more demands will not speed things up at all, nor can they alter in any way the fact that all the debts we have inherited cannot be paid off today and all at the same time.

It can be said that we have reached the end of the first stage of our work. In this stage we have mapped out the complex concatenation of social problems and elucidated—both among ourselves in the government and with the Federal Assembly, the unions and other institutions, and experts both at home and abroad—the fastest path to prosperity and democracy. We have concluded a phase consisting mainly of theoretical preparations, and we are about to enter a new phase which will be characterized by bold reforms. We are facing a series of concrete measures, many of which will have a sharp impact on the life of individuals, work collectives, enterprises, and cooperatives. If we wish to take our place worthily in the family of the most advanced states of the world, there is no other way.

On Thursday we are going to dedicate a whole session of the government to a single agenda item: concerted discussion of the concept for the further course of reform. It will be a time for making decisions on how precisely to coordinate the steps that will be instrumental in putting the reforms into practice. Everyone will have their say on this, and that concept will be submitted to the Federal Assembly and to the public.

In this connection I am often plagued by one consideration that extends beyond the confines of economic or legal analyses of what we have managed to draw up. Sometimes I have the apprehension that people may be afraid of the right to success, which we want to offer them. Our entire lives have bashed into our heads the idea that the spirit of enterprise, the energetic pursuit of personal material gain based on work performance, is something immoral and antisocial. Even our fairy tales for children unambiguously champion poor Jan, to whom happiness and prosperity will fall from heaven together, if at all possible, with a beautiful princess. Surprisingly, many people, even in adult life, have become accustomed to taking these fairy tales seriously, and as a result a rational economy with the uncompromising laws of the market can seem cruel to them.

In the days to come, we may be caught unawares in that some of us will see uncertainty where others see freedom. However, we have no option. We cannot avoid world competition, nor could we face up to it with our hands tied.

At the same time, Czechoslovakia is carrying out intensive international activity aimed at recovering the place we once held in the community of nations of Europe and the world. This activity, however, must be coordinated very carefully within the state as well. All these reasons have led me to make some proposals for changes in the composition of the Czechoslovak Government of National Understanding.

I have proposed to the president of the Republic that he should increase the Presidium of the government by a new deputy premier, Vaclav Vales, an experienced economist who, in the sixties, held a number of important government posts.

In addition, I have recommended that Dr. Frantisek Reichel be recalled from the post of deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific, Technical and Investment Development, and that Academician Armin Delong, director of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Instrument Technology Institute in Brno, be appointed in his place.

I have also proposed that the present federal deputy premier, Dr. Oldrich Bursky, should henceforth be appointed only minister of agriculture and food. I have recommended that Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier also be appointed deputy premier.

In view of the fact that the passage of time has shown that there is no point in differentiating between first deputy premiers and the other deputy premiers, I have proposed that Dr. Jan Carnogursky and Valtr Komarek be henceforth merely deputy premiers, not first deputy premiers.

President Vaclav Havel has accepted these changes in the composition of the Czechoslovak Federative Republic, and has therefore appointed Dr. Jan Carnogursky, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, Valtr Komarek, and Vaclav Vales federal deputy premiers, Academician Armin Delong deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific, Technical and Investment Development, and Dr. Oldrich Bursky federal minister of agricultural and food.

I firmly believe, dear fellow citizens, that after these changes the government will continue to be able to count on your support. Thank you for your attention.

Government Continues 5 Apr Agenda

LD0904010890 Prague CTK in English 1700 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 8 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government of national understanding met again at Kolodeje near Prague today to deal with the points which could not be discussed at its Thursday's session due to shortage of time.

The first negotiated item was a government's stand on the bill on the guarantee of the plurality of trade unions. Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa welcomed at the meeting representatives of trade unions, led by President of the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions Igor Pleskot.

The government finished discussions on the bill on the regulation changes in sickness benefit and social welfare. Therefore, the independent trade unions will not be proceeding the control of the state means for health and social insurance and the tasks belonging to the state will be provided by state bodies.

The last point under discussion, in the presence of the trade union representatives, was the final version of a draft government's regulation on labour-law relations in individual enterprise of physical persons. These are provisional rules to be replaced by universal regulations for all spheres of economic activities.

Czechoslovakia will strive to joint the initiative of the Four, a regional group of Italy, Austria, Yugoslavia and Hungary. This proposal was submitted to Czechoslovakia by the Italian foreign minister already in January.

The five which is being founded should in no case be a nucleus of any other bloc.

A question concerning the irrecoverable Czechoslovak claims abroad has remained open. In Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak's opinion this is the consequence of contracts signed 15-20 years ago.

As far as the outdigging and valorization of unpaid claims are concerned it is clear that more extensive cooperation with foreign companies and financial institutions of greater experience seems to be necessary.

The Czechoslovak Government also approved instructions for making a trade contract with the United States.

In the end the government members discussed cultural and ecological issues.

Havel, Others Meet on Republic's Name 6 Apr

LD0804094190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Our highest representatives met at Lany Castle yesterday [6 April] in order to discuss political, linguistic, historical, legal, and international aspects of the title of our repubic.

Participants included President Vaclav havel; Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek; Federal Premier Marian Calfa; Jaroslav Safarik, chairman of the Czech National Council; Rudolf Schuster, chairman of the Slovak National Council; Czech Premier Petr Pithart; Slovak Premier Milan Cic; Deputy Federal Premier Jan Carnogursky; Josef Stank, chairman of the Chamber of the Nations of the Federal Assembly; Josef Bartoncik, chairman of the Chamber of the People of the Federal Assembly; and other representatives.

Following many hours of intense and constructive discussion, all present agreed that it is necessary to alter somewhat the Constitutional Law No. 81 on our state's name. The change, upon which they agreed, corresponds to their joint view, to the will of our peoples, as well as to the character which our joint state should have in the era of integrating Europe.

The deputies present decided that in the spirit of the achieved agreement, they will work out an enterprising proposal of the appropriate change to the Constitutional Law.

'Czechoslovak Understanding' Movement Views Name

LD0804052890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Summary] A meeting of the Movement for Czechoslovak Understanding [hnuti ceskoslovenskeho porozumeni] took place in Bratislava today [7 April]. The movement unites Slovaks who do not insist on the hyphen in the name of the republic and those Czechs who do not mind having the hyphen. The goals of the movement are to encourage both Slovaks and Czechs to see the whole federal republic as their homeland. Nationality conflicts can only be solved in an authentic federation.

Proceedings Against Pact for '68 Invasion Begin

LD0604182690 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] The General Prosecutor's Office of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic announces that after due consideration and the gathering of all legal facts, it today began criminal proceedings in the case of calling to account Warsaw Pact Armies in Czechoslovakia in 1968 for the crime, according to paragraph one, subsection one of law No. 165/1950 of the collection, on the protection of peace. According to paragraph 67a, letter c, of the Penal Code, the crimes according to the quoted statute of the law on the protection of peace are not subject to the statute of limitations.

The aim of the investigation is to clarify fully and objectively all the important circumstances relating to the crime, in particular to establish the responsibility of specific people in the crime. Our public will be kept informed about the course and results of the investigation.

Further on Proceedings

LD0604214990 Prague CTK in English 2014 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 6 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Prosecutor General's Office has announced that it started legal proceedings on April 6, 1990 against persons who invited Warsaw treaty troops to Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The criminal acts do not fall under the non-applicability of the statute of limitations according to a provision of the Law on the Defence of peace. The aim of the proceedings is to completely and objectively clarify all important circumstances of the criminal act, mainly to find out the responsibility of concrete persons.

Lubomir Valeta, Czechoslovak prosecutor general first deputy, told CTK today that all persons who allegedly invited the troops to the country will be interrogated and other former top party and state officials will be questioned.

Asked whether the names of those who allegedly asked for the intervention are known, Lubomir Valeta said that no one can be named until the original of the inviting letter or other documents are at the disposal and until every available evidence is gathered. The main target of the started proceedings is to find out the names of those persons. He said that Vasil Bilak will be interrogated but did not give other names.

Replying to the question what stand the prosecutor's general office has taken on the view that those who allegedly invited the troops in August 1968 committed treason, Lubomir Valeta said that the Czechoslovak prosecutor's general office continues to hold its stand that was published at the beginning of January that even if the doings of these persons fulfilled the act constituting the offence of treason, its punishability lapsed after the 20-year long statute of limitation.

Communist Party Executive Committee Holds Session

LD0704200490 Prague CTK in English 1522 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 7 (CTK)—The Executive Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee dealt at its session here today with preparations for the 4th Central Committee session due to take place on April 21, which is to discuss inter alia the party election program.

The Executive Committee summarized the results of a discussion on a new party's organisation structure which creates preconditions for extensive development of inter-party democracy in the modern political movement.

Members of the Executive Committee recommended the party dailies RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA to publish the draft organisation order of the Communist Party and put it forward for an inter-party discussion.

The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia prepares celebrations of May 1 in one of Prague parks.

The Executive Committee dealt with the situation in society in connection with the appeal for nationalization of the Communist Party property. It backed all steps carried out by the Federal Assembly and the government in this sphere.

Sends Civic Forum Letter on Property, Funds

LD0904031590 Prague CTK in English 1934 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 8 (CTK)—"The Czechoslovak Communist Party property worth more than 230 million crowns was handed over to the state within last week", a letter of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Executive Committee sent to the Coordination Centre of the Civic Forum after the committee's Saturday's session stressed.

The letter pointed out that the extraordinary Communist Party Congress held last December supported unambiguously the demand for handing over of all property given to the Communist Party by the state for "permanent use" to state bodies.

"We do not want anything that does not belong to us. We want only what is necessary for the activity of any political party", the letter said.

"We are convinced that the Federal Assembly deputies working in a parliamentary commission set for this purpose and the activities of the People's Control Committee in this field are a guarantee that property rights of political parties will be considered objectively", the document pointed out.

"That is why we are of the opinion that the strike called on April 11 will not contribute to a reasonable and just solution of this question:, it said.

Further on Letter to Civic Forum

LD0904061890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] The Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee Executive Committee has sent a letter to the Civic Forum Coordination Committee in Prague reacting to the decision of some working collectives to follow an appeal of the Civic Forum of the CKD Polovodice [semiconductors] in Prague to join in a 10-minute protest strike on 11 April for the solution of CPCZ property questions.

The Executive Committee stresses the fact that the Communist Party has given up any monopoly of power and any property advantages proceeding from this. It wants only what is necessary for any political party's activity. Thus, the Executive Committee is turning to the Civic Forum Coordination Committee to take a stand against actions that do not contribute to calming the internal political situation but that instead actually encourage intolerance, which is at odds with the policy of national understanding.

CPCZ Revenues, Finances Data Published

AU0604125690

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 4 April on page 2 carries a 1,000-word feature compiled by the Economic Department of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee, entitled "Facts About Subsidies for the CPCZ." On 5 April, on page 5, RUDE PRAVO publishes a 3,000-word feature "prepared" by the same Central Committee department, entitled "Facts About the CPCZ's Capital Investment."

The 4 April features, which contain a table on the CPCZ's revenues and expenditures in the 1980-89 period, is designed to prove that "the CPCZ has been financing its activities fully from members' dues and the levies of party-owned enterprises." The feature states that, in recent years, the party had average annual proceeds of 1.2 to 1.3 billion korunas from members' dues, in addition to an annual income of 150 million korunas paid for out of the profits of party-owned enterprises. According to the table, the CPCZ's revenues always exceeded its expenditures during the period covered, with the exception of 1989. The table also provides figures on state subsidies for the CPCZ's operations during the ten years covered; these subsidies range between a minimum of 70 million and a maximum of 170 million korunas a year. The feature emphasizes that these subsidies were much lower—relative to membership—than those received by other political parties, and that they were not used to finance the activities of the party's organizations but rather the party's "all-social expenditures" (such as the operation of the party college, which was part of the system of higher educational establishments; or the operating costs of the Gottwald, Lenin, and Fucik museums in Prague and Bratislava). The RUDE PRAVO material also mentions that the party has been reimbursed every year for some of its investment expenditures; these sums range between a minimum of 115 million korunas (in 1989) and a maximum of 882 million (in 1983). RUDE PRAVO emphasises, however, that party investment projects financed by the state were transferred into state ownership so that they "multiplied the wealth of the state and not that of the party." Summing up, the RUDE PRAVO feature states that "by no means is it possible to claim that the CPCZ has used state subsidies to enrich itself or that it has been living at the expense of society."

The 5 April feature contains a survey of investment projects carried out by the CPCZ in the 1971-89 period, including new construction and repair work. For each project the survey lists the state's and the CPCZ's own contribution to its funding. The survey reveals that in the period covered, the Czechoslovak state spent a total of 3,371,571,829 korunas on investments in CPCZ-occupied (but state-owned) buildings. In addition, the RUDE PRAVO survey lists all buildings that were formerly owned by the CPCZ and that have been vacated in recent months and made available to other occupants. The sum total of the value of this property shows, as RUDE PRAVO points out, that "the Czechoslovak state has received from the assets of the CPCZ, real estate valued at 242,122,352 korunas."

Czech Communists Statement on Czech-Slovak Tension

AU0604103390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Apr 90 p 1

["Statement on the Events Following the Approval of the Constitutional Law on Changing the CSSR's Name" adopted by delegates to the constituent congress of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia in Prague on 31 March]

[Text] We advocate full respect for the sovereignty and identity of the Czech and Slovak Republics in a common federative state as well as the equality and comprehensive development of all minorities and ethnic groups. Expressions of chauvinism and nationalism do not contribute to the solution of serious political problems, no matter on which side they appear. These problems must be solved prudently, without emotion, with a high degree of political culture, and in the spirit of tolerance and mutual understanding. We call on all our fellow citizens to assume such an approach.

[signed] Delegates to the constituent congress of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia.

Social Democratic Leadership Elected

AU0604151990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Apr 90 p 3

["(KAM)"-signed report: "Experts on the Elections"]

[Excerpt] Prague (from our own correspondent)—A 13-member presidium was elected at Tuesday's [3 April] session of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party [CSSD] Executive Committee. The CSSD's senior leadership is composed of Prof. Jiri Horak, its chairman; Jiri Paroubek, its central secretary; Petra Buzkova; Karel Sykora; and Engineer Tuma. Their discussions concerned the party's electoral course of action. [passage omitted]

Czechoslovak Socialist Party News Conference

LD0604225690 Prague CTK in English 1610 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 6 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Socialist Party wants to carry out independent activities before the elections but it will not avoid cooperation with other democratic political parties in Czechoslovakia, Jiri Vyvadil, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, stressed at a press conference here today.

It is possible that after the elections, to be held in Czechoslovakia in June 1990, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party will decide to form a coalition, he said.

The chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party referred critically to some phenomena in today's Czechoslovakia society, e.g. the solution of problems of lesser importance is prefered to others much more important in the economy and policy.

He criticised also new laws being adopted chaotically, and the mass media monopoly still lasting, not respecting the information freedom for all political forces in the country.

Slovak Communists Hold Preelection Plenum

AU0604104290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Apr 90 pp 1,2

[Peter Holka, Jan Skoda, and Gejza Vilcek report: "In Expectation of Further Attacks; From a Session of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava (from our correspondents)— The third session of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee was held in Bratislava yesterday. The session discussed the tasks and the course of action of Slovak Communists in the upcoming elections. At the same time it approved lists of candidates for deputies to the Federal Assembly and the Slovak National Council in all four electoral regions of the Slovak Republic.

In the main report (a substantial part we will publish tomorrow) Pavol Kanis, secretary of the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee, focused on preparations for the upcoming elections to the highest legislative bodies. These preparations are taking place simultaneously with the party's renewal. He stressed that the party can expect further unscrupulous attacks in the preelection campaign. Vladimir Jakubac, secretary of the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee, spoke about the organizational preparation of the elections. [passage omitted]

Peter Weiss, chairman of the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee, outlined the preelection strategy. He pointed out that, despite the actual changes that have taken place in the party, it is important to further intensify the transformations and to propagate them. [passage omitted] He stressed that it is not enough to abandon confrontational approaches in the ideological sphere but that it is necessary, by showing tolerance and by a calm presentation of arguments, to convince the public even more clearly of the unequivocal break with the party's past. [passage omitted]

Speaking in the debate, Inge Szocsova announced the founding of the Movement of Communists of Hungarian Nationality [Hnutie komunistov madarskej narodnosti], which wants to put across the views of working people living in ethnically mixed areas. It wants to do so in harmony with party policy and within the CPSL's framework.

The discussion was summed up by P. Weiss. Speaking about the May Day festivities, he stressed that the party will organize them not for itself but for the citizens. In conclusion the session adopted, after numerous comments, a statement by the CPSL Central Committee on the name of our republic and a resolution (both these documents are published separately).

Issue Resolution

AU0604104390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
2 Apr 90 p 2

[Resolution adopted by the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee at its third plenary session in Bratislava on 1 April]

[Text] The Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee:

I. Acknowledges

1. The reports of Pavol Kanis and Vladimir Jakubac, secretaries of the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee, on the CPSL's tasks and course of action in preparing for the 1990 elections to legislative bodies;

2. The written evaluation of the situation in the CPSL by 30 March 1990.

II. Approves

1. Candidates of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for deputies to the Federal Assembly and the Slovak National Council in individual electoral regions;

2. The timetable of CPSL Central Committee bodies' work for the second quarter 1990;

3. The CPSL Central Committee's statement on the name of the republic;

4. The basic orientation of the CPSL Program Conference, presented by Peter Weiss, chairman of the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee.

III. Expels from the CPSL

Michal Spak [former East Slovak party chief] for his personal share in the deformations of party life and society in the preceding period, for adhering to positions that run counter to the party's current program and aims, and for loss of trust within the membership base.

IV. Releases

Jan Kasper from the position of member of the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee at his own request (work-related reasons), as well as Jan Novak, Lubomir Kaniansky, Dusan Cajka, and Pavel Bolvansky from membership in the CPSL Central Committee at their request.

V. Co-opts

Peter Pavlicky, chairman of the CPSL Dunajska Streda District Committee, and Tibor Keckes, chairman of the CPSL Galanta District Committee, as members of the CPSL Central Committee.

VI. Elects

Peter Pavlicky and Tibor Keckes as members of the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee.

VII. Charges the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee with carrying out, if necessary, changes and amendments in the lists of candidates for deputies to the Federal Assembly and the Slovak National Council.

VIII. Voices support for the Movement of Communists of Hungarian Nationality on the CPSL platform.

IX. Charges the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee with studying the possibility of publishing a Hungarian-language periodical.

Issue Statement Opposing Country's New Name

AU0504104490 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
2 Apr 90 p 1

["Statement" issued by the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee issued in Bratislava on 1 April]

[Text] The preparation for the change in the republic's name, the debate on it in the Federal Assembly, and, finally, the new name itself have generated a heated discussion within the general public and in expert circles. This bears out, without any doubt, that the solution of this issue is of exceptional significance for the further coexistence of the two state-forming [statotvorny], sovereign nations in their common federative state.

The Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee supports everything positive which has been attained by the implementation of the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation and in relations between our fraternal nations. It holds the position that the name of the republic should reflect fundamental principles of the coexistence of nations such as equality, national identity, and sovereignty. Bitter experiences gleaned from the history of relations between our nations warn us against disregard for these principles, against the danger of mutual alienation, against disunity and discord between Czechs and Slovaks. We are concerned about the fact that at present, at a time when both our nations as well as the ethnic minorities subscribe to the idea of a common European home, the ideas of chauvinism and separatism are increasingly being revived.

The CPSL Central Committee declares with full responsibility that it will oppose all practices whose aim is to bring discord, hatred, and intolerance into the coexistence of our nations and ethnic minorities. We Communists, being patriots, are not, however, and will not be indifferent to expressions of Czechoslovakism, all the more so if these are confirmed by legislative norms.

The CPSL declares that the name of the common state must be uniform, that it must express the sovereignty of the two national republics, and respect the awareness, interests, and needs of the Slovak nation. We therefore fully support the statement of the Slovak National Council and the Slovak Government of 30 March 1990, concerning a solution to the situation that has arisen.

Slovak Freedom Party Statement on Platform

LD0804022190 Prague CTK in English 1320 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Bratislava April 6 (CTK)—Approval of an election program, an organisation order, a statement on the elections and other issues were on the agenda of today's session of the Slovak Freedom Party Central Committee in Slovak capital.

The Freedom party won 4.4 per cent of votes in the 1946 elections.

Party Chairman Jozef Sirotnak said the aim of the party is to guarantee national freedom and state sovereignty of the Slovak nation. It strives for a pluralistic political system on the basis of parliamentary democracy. It emphasizes the right of the majority to decide freely about the future of the Slovak nation. The party will follow the principles of Christian morality in the spirit of tolerance and an open dialogue, without confrontation, a party Central Committee statement on the elections said.

Independent Party of Slovaks Holds Congress

LD0804110490 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Several score new political parties and movements have come into existence in Czechoslovakia since 17 November last year. Up to now they have been coming into existence more in the capitals rather then outside them. Delegates gathered in Komarno today for the first congress of the Independent Party of Slovaks [nezavisla strana slovakov]. It is the first political party in Czechoslovakia to have its headquarters in a district town. Representatives of more than 1,300 members from all over Slovakia today considered the party's statutes and policy aims as well as its orientation in the run-up to the elections. Peter Rohak, our reporter, has sent us the following details about the deliberations of this new party:

[Begin Rohak recording] The emergence of this party, on 1 February this year, has been conditioned by the specific situation existing here in southern Slovakia. The escalation of demands by members of the Hungarian nationality has provoked reaction from Slovaks, who in the district of Komarno, for instance, comprise one-third of the population and who are in effect an ethnic minority in this territory.

The Independent Party of Slovakia wants to push by political means for the solution precisely of the questions of sovereign Slovakia and is in favor of cooperation among members of the Slovak nation and ethnic minorities, with the emphasis on friendly coexistence among them. It has also included in its program the raising of the national consciousness of Slovaks living not only on the territory of Slovakia but also in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, and Yugoslavia. The new party wants to jointly enter the elections with the Freedom Party on a Christian republican basis by guaranteeing free expression of national feeling to all ethnic groups.

At today's congress there were also talks about the establishment of the so-called national bloc at a time when a new situation has emerged as a result of the registration of independent candidates representing the Matica Slovenska. The Independent Party of Slovaks stands for nonfragmentation of forces and supports the formation of a coalition involving all political parties and civic movements on a national basis, grouped in an association of Slovak initiatives. [end recording]

Meckel Says SPD Will Not Be 'Blackmailed'

LD0604173990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1319 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"We will not let ourselves be blackmailed." Acting Social Democratic Paty [SPD] Chairman Markus Meckel reacted in these words to the question from journalists of whether the new GDR prime minister, Lothar de Maiziere, would be elected on 12 April with or without SPD votes. He assessed the current state of government negotiations as "not simple." No concrete proposals had been put forward so far by the Christian Democratic Union and the German Social Union. They had to agree on things that were then binding. It remained to be seen whether there would be a government with or without the SPD on 12 April.

On Bonn's plans for economic and social union, put forward by Finance Minister Waigel and which moved in the direction of the GDR losing its rights of sovereignty, Markus Meckel stated: "We will have to look at these in detail. We have not yet been done this extensively and discussed them. One thing is clear: We will not enter into diktats."

SPD's Schroeder Sees Problems With Treaty

LD0704032990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2027 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Social Democrats see unexpected problems for the coalition talks with the Alliance for Germany and the Liberals in connection with the state treaty between the two German states prepared by the Federal Government. This emerges from an interview by SPD [Social Democratic Party] parliamentary group Chairman Richard Schroeder for the news programme "AK Zwo" [Aktuelle Kamera Two] of the German Television Service.

Schroeder explained that in the draft of this state treaty, in as far as its content was known from press reports, there was no provision for the point on which one had already agreed on in the coalition talks, namely a simultaneous monetary, economic, and social union. With this, the question was raised as to what position the other parties hold. "It would be fatal," the SPD politician said, "if now we agree on something and then after the government has been formed, the state treaty comes and we are faced with a situation where we will have difficulties in implementing our coalition agreements." This has suddenly become an important topic that must be placed on the table.

The coalition talks continued this evening at the working group level. They aree to continue on 7 April, first of all at experts level and then together.

Discusses Unification

LD0704193390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1717 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—The parliamentary group chairman of the SPD [Socialist Democratic Party] in the GDR People's Chamber, Richard Schroeder, is pleading for "a prolonged procedure according to Article 23" of the FRG Basic Law for unification of the two German states. A "preliminary harmonization of structures" is necessary, Schroeder said in an interview for the Hamburg news magazine DER SPIEGEL. The SPD political stated: "We are interested in a modernization of the basic law also being part of this harmonization of structures." A joint constitution should be decided on by a referendum. The SPD politician consideres it possible that an all-German parliament will assemble in the middle of 1991.

SPD Council Meets To Discuss Coalition Talks

LD0704092490 Hamburg DPA in German 0839 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The SPD [Social Democratic Party] Party Council met in East Berlin this morning to be briefed by the SPD leadership on the state of coalition talks with the three parties of the Conservative Alliance and the Liberals. Acting SPD Chairman Markus Meckel said before the meeting began that while there were problems with the coalition talks, the situation "was not hopeless."

He would not comment on details to the press. Although the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] could form a government with its partners without the SPD, this had not been in the CDU's interests so far, said Meckel.

In the round of talks on forming a government that starts this evening, the CDU and SPD must also discuss the FRG draft state treaty, said Meckel. Last night, SPD parliamentary group Chairman Richard Schroeder had stated on GDR television that his party regarded the draft with misgivings and disapproval. Meckel said that the SPD would like to see a reaction from the GDR-CDU to the draft, which had also met with criticism in the FRG-FDP [Free Democratic Party].

Council Supports Talks

LD0704150390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1354 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The SPD [Social Democratic Party] Party Council supports the continuation of the coalition talks with the Alliance parties and the League of Free Democrats. Party Council spokeswoman Sabine Riebe gave a briefing on this in Berlin today. The content of the talks should continue to be the SPD's basic positions from 27 March. Included in this is that the path to German unity has to be taken step by step while giving the people social security. The results of the land reform should also remain fact, and a border guarantee should be given to Poland.

Acting party Chairman Markus Meckel stressed that the SPD Party Council has thereby given a clear confirmation to further negotiations. In spite of the "negotiating brief" by the advisory committee to his delegation, the role of the SPD as the opposition is not ruled out. Meckel again made it clear that the legislative group has the responsibility to making a final decision on the question of a coalition. However, it will not make this decision without taking into account the advice of the Party Council as the highest SPD body.

Meckel commented on the Federal Government's intention of presenting a state treaty to the GDR. He did not know the text, and the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] has been asked "to give us the draft for purposes of notation via its contacts with the Federal Government." The state treaty and the issue of how to deal with it will be a central point on the agenda of the further coalition negotiations. "In this we will see how binding the statements are that we have already made jointly. There is agreement that monetary, economic, and social union should be one package."

Asked about the issue of postponing the local elections, the acting party chairman replied that just as much spoke against this. However, during informative talks with the CDU, they agreed on sticking to 6 May. The CDU is trying to draw up a new constitution for local government "that did not necessarily have to imitate the old structures."

Meckel again made it clear that it is the SPD's aim to form a government by 12 April. However this should not "founder on the rock of setting dates that cannot be kept." He considers that to be irresponsible. Forming a government after Easter would be realistic for the SPD. It is to be decided by 12 April whether there will be a joint government before Easter.

Meckel pointed to the difficulties so far in the negotiations on forming a coalition government. The points of dissent between the individual parties have to be found and that takes time.

Further on SPD Meeting

LD0804115190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1115 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—After a heated debate, the SPD [Social Democratic Party] party executive made it plain that the People's Chamber group was the crucial body to decide legislative issues. Acting Party Chairman Markus Meckel said during a break that the SPD still has to learn democracy. Confusion arose between the party executive and the legislative group after the group, against the party executive's recommendation, decided in favor of coalition talks with the alliance parties CDU [Christian Democratic Union], Democratic Social Union, and Democratic Awakening. Therefore, on 8 April the 33-strong party executive discussed the powers of the party executive, the Presidium, and the legislative group.

Concerning the state of the coalition talks, Meckel said that after the 7 April personnel discussions nothing definite has been decided as yet, except the post of prime minister. Of the 23 portfolios in the new government the SPD would like to have not less than seven. CDU General Secretary Kirchner's statement on the distribution in the new cabinet reflected "not the result of negotiations but the CDU's interest." It can be taken for certain that the coalition talks will not be concluded today, Meckel said.

3d Round of Coalition Talks Begins

LD0704183790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1527 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The alliance of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], DSU [German Social Union], and Democratic Awakening began the third round of coalition talks on a future GDR government with the League of Free Democrats and the SPD [Social Democratic Party] in Berlin on 7 April. As CDU General Secretary Maretin Kirchner told the press before the start of negotiations, the government will be formed before 12 April, if necessary even without SPD participation. The state treaty proposed by the FRG could play a part in the talks.

DSU Chairman Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling noted that the SPD must now at last "get their act together." What matters is that the government should soon become operational.

SPD leader Markus Meckel said that policy and personnel issues should also be debated at this round of talks. There must be "specific discussion of what is to be achieved."

Kirchner Forecasts Results Soon

LD0704225490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2038 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)— Four hours after the beginning of the talks late this evening in the House of Parliamentarians in Berlin, CDU [Christian Democratic Union] General Secretary Martin Kirchner was of the opinion that in further coalition talks on 9 April, results could be reckoned on. The expectations of the GDR citizens were great, therefore one must "get some results quickly." During this session, negotiations were already being carried out on the composition of the cabinet, which was to consist of 24 ministers. The CDU wants 11 ministries. He was of the opinion that the Economics Ministry "befits a key position," followed by the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Social Affairs. Three ministries each were envisioned for the DSU [German Social Union] and the Liberals, six for the SPD [Social Democratic Party], and one portfolio for Democratic Awakening.

According to the DSU Chairman Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling, the new GDR government will be definite on 12 April. He expressed this opinion during a break in the third round of coalition talks on forming a government. The GDR citizens can trust those conducting the negotiations. He is against publicizing results now if they are not yet final. Democracy means negotiating with one another, and doing this, it could also happen that one does not reach decisions so quickly.

Focus on Portfolio Assignments

LD0804201190 Hamburg DPA in German 1612 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—Late this afternoon, negotiations were continuing on the formation of a grand coalition government, to be elected on 12 April by the People's Chamber. It is the fourth round of coalition talks between the three alliance parties—the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], the DSU [German Social Union], and Democratic Awakening—as well as the SPD [Socal Democratic Party] and the Liberals. Already, on 7 April, the negotiating partners had agreed on the essential features of the new government. This evening further personnel questions should be discussed. The cabinet of Premier-designate Lothar de Maiziere (CDU) will probably contain 23 ministerial posts.

After the latest progress made in the coalition negotiations in East Berlin, the new GDR cabinet under CDU Premier-designate Lothar de Maiziere is to be settled by 10 April so that on this day the party bodies responsible can approve it. While the negotiating partners—Alliance parties, SPD, and the Liberals—achieved far-reaching agreement as regards the content, by this evening the tug-of-war as to the probably 23 ministries was still continuing.

Before the continuation of the negotiations this evening, CDU General Secretary Martin Kirchner said: "That is the breaking point." SPD Chief Markus Meckel emphasized to journalists that this is the "central question." The SPD is insisting on seven posts. The Alliance intends to grant the Social Democrats only six ministers.

Kirchner announced that the SPD will put up a deputy premier. At the moment, it is open as to whether de Maiziere is to have one or several deputies. Kirchner said he hoped that "now we will get down to business." The CDU is the election victor. The premier and the government spokesman are contained in the 11 posts for the Christian Democrats. "We have already given enough," Kirchner said. This evening, leading representatives of the DSU, the Liberals, and the SPD assumed the contentious questions will still be cleared up. The negotiations on government formation are to be concluded on 9 April. [passage omitted]

Rainer Ortleb, League of Free Democrats (BFD) chief, said this evening: "We are trying to get three" ministerial posts. According to observers, it is conceivable that the Liberals will give one post to the SPD. A Social Democrat should become minister of labor and social affairs. Kirchner has said that the Ministry of the Interior should not go to the SPD. [passage omitted]

Talks Reach 'Deadlock'

LD0804220990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2057 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—After six hours of negotiations on the future GDR government, the coalition talks between the Alliance parties, the Liberals, and the SPD [Socialist Democratic Party] have apparently reached a deadlock.

"We must get in touch with the party group in order to get things moving again," SPD party group Chairman Richard Schroeder explained late this evening after a temporary suspension of the discussions. There was no point, he said, in negotiating in the talks on matters that do not have the support of the party group.

According to participants, the talks are to continue on 9 April at 0900. A meeting of the SPD party group is scheduled for 1500.

SPD Announces 'Compromise'

LD0904082590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0001 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A compromise has been worked out after long and difficult negotiations on the issue of the different parties' share in a likely coalition government. This was stated by SPD [Socialist Democratic Party] press spokesman Guenther Krug to ADN during last night concerning the 8 April coalition negotiations between the Alliance parties, the Liberals, and the SPD. Krug gave no further details about the form of compromise reached.

However, in the view of the SPD there still exist considerable differences on a number of points relating to the contents of a government program, such as the broad participation of the citizens in the privatization of publicly owned enterprises. For that reason the SPD assumes that further difficult negotiations lay ahead.

In order to brief its members about the current state of the coalition negotiations, the SPD People's Chamber group will hold a special session at 1000 GMT today.

Talks Resume 9 Apr

LD0904134690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1314 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The talks on the formation of a grand coalition government were resumed this afternoon in the House of the Parliamentarians in Berlin. Earlier today, the state of the negotiations had been discussed by the parties involved in the respective parliamentary groups.

After the morning session, Premier-designate Lothar de Maiziere spoke optimistically about the progress of the talks. He said that there is already agreement in the coalition on filling the ministerial posts.

CDU [Christian Democratic Union] General Secretary Kirchner stated immediately before the resumption of the talks that the cabinet list would probably be published on 10 April at 1800.

Predictions for Future Cabinet

LD0904133690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1312 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The future GDR cabinet is expected to consist of 24 ministers. In addition, it was also learned in the wings of the coalition talks today that the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] will have 11 ministerial posts, the SPD [SPD] seven, the Liberals three, the DSU [German Social Union] two, and the DA [Democratic Union] one.

According to information that has not yet been officially confirmed, the CDU would put forward the premier and the DSU the deputy premier. DSU leader Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling was expected to take up the post of interior minister, and acting SPD Chairman Markus Meckel that of foreign minister. DA Chairman Rainer Eppelmann might emerge as defense minister.

Draft Constitution Presented to Press

LD0604151790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1315 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The document adopted by the roundtable working group on the new GDR Constitution on 4 April and handed over to the People's Chamber on 5 April was introduced to the international press in Berlin this afternoon. The draft constitution is regarded by its authors as a "coherent and coordinated regulation" that is "necessary for the "building and working methods of a democratic and social state under the rule of law and for the security of its citizens."

The draft is divided into a preamble, as well as five chapters (human and civic rights, principles and bodies of the state, functions of the state, state finances, and interim and final clauses), with a total of 138 articles.

The GDR is defined in Article 41 as a "democratic and social federal state [bundesstaat] based on the rule of law" that is composed of laender. The GDR is committed to the goal of creating a pan-European peace order and the establishment of the unity of the two German states.

It says with regard to state symbols: "The GDR state flag is in the colors black, red, and yellow. The state emblem is the depiction of the motto 'Sword into Plowshares'."

The draft constitution regards the People's Chamber as the "highest body for the development of state objectives" (Article 51) and describes the opposition as a necessary element of parliamentary democracy. The republic's president is designated head of state in Article 78. Laws are to be passed by the People's Chamber or referendum (Article 90).

Concerning ownership, Article 133 states that the land reform and ownership relations "determined by Article 24 of the GDR Constitution of 7 October 1949" are inviolable.

Further on Draft

LD0604165290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1455 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The draft of the new GDR constitution provides for carrying out the unity of Germany by the GDR joining the FRG. In Article 134 it says: If unity is implemented by joining the Federal Republic of Germany, then the provisions under which the FRG Basic Law is to come into force for the present area of sovereignty of the GDR are to be settled by agreement.

The document, with a total of 138 paragraphs, which was drawn up by all the political parties and movements of the roundtable, was presented today to the international press in Berlin by representatives of the working group "New GDR Constitution."

The constitution, the draft of which was given to parliament on 5 April, could provisionally be put into force by the People's Chamber with a two-thirds majority and serve the deputies as a basis for work. By doing this, further necessary changes to the currently valid Constitution would be dropped. A referendum—planned for 17 June—should be held to vote on the document after wide-ranging public discussion. The organizers say that with this constitution the path to the unity of Germany could be cleared.

Several of the authors reported in reply to journalists' questions that in comparison to the FRG Basic Law, the paper in hand would contain progressive benefits with regard to a stronger fixing of the basic rights of the citizens, public legislation as an important means of codetermination, as well as social rights. Thus in it the right to work or the promotion of employment and the necessity of referenda has expressly been legally established.

The preamble composed by GDR author Christa Wolf took in progressive traditional lines of German history. Also on the basis of this constitution, activities by the Republicans could be legally banned. The draft starts from the premise of an area of validity in the borders of the two German states now in existence. It is viewed by its authors as a "coherent settlement mutually coordinated" that "is required for the establishment and the working method of a democratic and social state based on the rule of law and for the security of its citizens." [passage omitted]

Reactivation of Stasi 'Absolute Nonsense'

LD0604141490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1101 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The press office of the Committee for the Dissolution of the Office of National Security (AfNS) today described as "absolute nonsense" claims made in today's FRG newspaper DIE WELT stating that the Modrow government proposed to the Soviet KGB that it should take on strategic areas of the Ministry of State Security (MfS).

Klaus Wendler, the head of the press office, told ADN that in his view such activities over the head of the government representatives and citizens' committees would have been "political suicide". The citizens' committees will have been operating in the former offices of the MfS-AfnS since 15 January 1990.

In the view of the persons instructed to dissolve the AfNS, any continuation of telephone bugging by the AfNS would have been unfeasible in terms of personnel and equipment. [passage omitted]

ADN learned that of the former 2,000 or so staff, only 37 were still employed there in helping to dissolve the office. The technical installations of this main department had, in view of their specialist nature, been handed over to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the National People's Army and Deutsche Post. [passage omitted]

Stasi Members 'Blackmail' Former Spies

AU0704210990 Hamburg BILD in German 7 Apr 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Stasi Blackmailers: Whoever Does Not Pay Will Be Incriminated"]

[Text] Schwerin—The State Security Service [Stasi] is constituting itself anew—as a gang of blackmailers. A former employee of the secret service told BILD: "Over the past few weeks, in several towns of Schwerin Bezirk [area] colleagues from the 'company' knocked on the doors of their old comrades, also on mine. They asked: 'Do you want to work for Dr. Korth's group?' Major General Korth was the chief of the Schwerin Stasi administration. Today he and his people are sending letters to former spies, to directors of enterprises, engineers, and doctors. They demand money: 1,000 to 20,000 GDR marks. They threaten: Whoever does not pay will have incriminating material published about him. This can be forged easily. The Stasis still have many official stamps."

The informer also said that at least 14 people belong to this group. The money from the blackmail is used to "maintain the standard of living and to further build up the organization."

Momper Adviser Allegedly Worked for Stasi

AU0904090890 Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG in German 8 Apr 90 pp 1, 4, 5

[Menso Heyl report: "Is a Stasi Agent With Momper?"]

[Excerpts] Now the long shadow of the State Security Service [Stasi] is cast upon the office of Berlin's governing mayor: Reportedly, Ralf Hirsch (29), Walter Momper's eastern adviser, has been a paid Stasi agent for years. This is asserted by a former first lieutenant of the GDR Political Police. Reportedly, Ralf Hirsch, who was formerly a GDR opposition member and is today a close aide of the governing mayor, disclosed the names of peace movement members to the Stasi. He is said to have helped the Stasi to secretly film civil rights activists and to take pictures of them. Reportedly, he even brought the Stasi men Father Eppelmann's apartment keys so that they were able to secretly install bugging devices in his apartment. [passage omitted]

Hirsch became the close confidant of painter Baerbel Bohley, who later co-founded New Forum. Baerbel Bohley called him "my little Ralfi."

Hirsch also gained the confidence of many other leading opposition movement members who were especially dangerous for the former GDR rulers: Werner Fischer, who is today in charge of the dissolution of the Stasi; Katja Havemann, widow of known regime critic Robert Havemann; and Ibrahim Boehme, the later chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany who resigned because of suspicions in connection with the Stasi.

When in January 1988 Honecker's anniversary demonstration in commemoration of Rosa Luxemburg was disturbed by GDR opposition members with the call for "freedom for those who think differently," a wave of arrests followed in East Berlin. On 25 January, Ralf Hirsch was arrested together with Baerbel Bohley, Werner Fischer, Wolfgang Templin, and Freya Klier. All—also Hirsch—were accused of "traitorous relations." Did the Stasi want to cover its own spy and make it possible for him to do further jobs for them by arresting him? [passage omitted]

Officially, the Stasi confronted Ralf Hirsch, like the other arrested persons, with the alternative: A long period of detention or off to the West. Hirsch, who was assisted by lawyer and Stasi spy Wolfgang Schnur, chose the West.

However, in contrast to most of the other expellees, he remained there. After having worked in the Land Office for Central Social Tasks for some time, he applied for a post on the top floor of the Schoeneberg Town Hall: In December 1989, Berlin Governing Mayor Walter Momper called him to his side.

Since that time, the 29-year-old man, who was trained as a locksmith, has been responsible for "liaison" between the Senat Chancellery and the GDR opposition in Momper's personal office. Until today, he has organized Momper's meetings with GDR opposition groups.

When BILD AM SONNTAG confronted Ralf Hirsch with the accusations, he said: "After my release from juvenile detention in 1978, the Stasi tried to recruit me. But I did not cooperate." He only got to know Eppelmann three years later, he stated. [passage omitted]

Gysi on PDS Chances in 6 May Elections

LD0604211790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1945 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Kamenz (ADN)—According to Gregor Gysi, the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] achievement in the People's Chamber elections should be hammered home on 6 May. "If we succeed in this, then everyone else will have to live with the PDS," the party chairman said this evening in Kamenz (Dresden Bezirk, with reference to the approximately 2 million PDS voters of 18 March.

In the forthcoming elections the party intends to show that it is a force on all levels. [passage omitted]

The party should devote itself more to the workers, who, in Gysi's opinion, are now scarcely represented in parliament. They felt that they had been betrayed twofold: Firstly by the former SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], nows by the 2:1 exchange rate. Gysi described the situation of the PDS as difficult because "we don't fit into the federal German landscape," and the heritage of the SED struck back at the PDS in particular, especially in the local sphere. Therefore, no one should believe that the chances of the party are higher than 16 percent. It was emphasized at the election rally that a PDS candidacy requires courage from every individual. It should find the support and solidarity of many sympathizers and friends.

Groups Merge To Form 'Alternative Left List'

LD0704032290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1618 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Alternative Youth List, the Democratic Women's League, the Carnations, the Independent Women's Union, and the United Left, in the elections preparations for the Berlin city assembly, have merged into an Alternative Left List. Its election slogan is "From left to the front—with everybody, for everybody."

The alliance, in is program conveyed to ADN on 6 April, assumes that local government politics in Berlin will be dominated by the assimilation of the city's two parts. The new List, in the expected restructuring, intends to work for social and ecological economic development, a social policy that cares for the socially disadvantaged, and genuine equality of men and women, as well as education, training, and leisure-time opportunities for youngsters. Alternative lifestyles and cultural and arts projects should be promoted together with the traditional ones: Culture should not "deteriorate as a commodity" and Berlin should develop into a "multicultural city without xenophobia."

Christian-Social Party Founded in Magdeburg

LD0904073290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1734 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—The Christian-Social Party [Christlich-Soziale Partei] (CSP) has been founded in Magdeburg. In a communication sent to ADN today, it is stated that the CSP considers itself a liberal, democratic, social, and conservative party. It has emerged from the former Magdeburg Bezirk [area] Executive of the DSU [German Social Union].

A relatively high number of DSU members, including the entire Magdeburg Bezirk Executive, had not been able to approve of the conditions within the DSU party, which were in clear opposition to their ideas of democracy.

The CSP executive has its seat in Magdeburg. The party is to participate in the local elections.

Membership in NATO, Warsaw Pact Possible

AU0604131890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Apr 90 p 2

[Sylvia-Yvonne Kaufmann editorial: "Is It Possible—NATO and Warsaw Pact?"]

[Text] Unification of the two German states is irrevocable, a historic process that will also seal the end of postwar Europe. As British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said in a DER SPIEGEL interview recently, a Germany will emerge in the center of Europe that will be stronger than all its neighbors, owing to its future economic, scientific-technological, military, and intellectual-cultural potential. Therefore, guarantees are necessary that a unified Germany will never again endanger peace.

The destructive influence of Greater Germany on Europe between 1870 and 1945 has been engraved deeply in the nations' awareness. That is why all responsible German politicians must have a fundamental interest in creating conditions guaranteeing that Germany's neighbors will never again be afraid of this country. To that extent, the FRG chancellor has rendered a disservice to the German unification process by his ambiguous attitude toward the Polish western border.

There is far-reaching agreement that the unification of Germany should be synchronized with the pan-European unification process. There can and must be no special German way. There is less agreement that the centerpiece of the German question is disarmament. A heated discussion is going on about whether German unity can only be achieved if the controversial problem has been clarified as to how the GDR and the FRG or a unified Germany could be embedded in newly to-be-created security structures in Europe. This is a challenge to all CSCE countries. The two-plus-four talks stress the responsibility of the four World War II victorious powers that are still responsible for Germany as a whole.

West European politicians want to bind Germany in the Western alliance and integration systems, and they consider the United States' further presence in Europe as a guarantee for safeguarding their security requirements both toward the Soviet Union and a united Germany. Therefore, they call for the membership of all of Germany in NATO. To bring this about, they are currently looking for grotesque compromises: No deployment of NATO troops, including Bundeswehr troops, and no responsibility of NATO's military organization east of the Elbe; continuing the deployment of Soviet troops on the territory of what is today the GDR, etc.

However, there are many important counterarguments to this variant, because influential forces in the FRG are calling for unrestricted NATO membership of a unified Germany. Among these counterarguments, we should mention the legitimate security interests of the USSR and other countries. In addition, the question is whether half membership or full membership of Germany in NATO would sufficiently push the pan-European unification process, which is supposed to accompany German unification, or whether it would not make overcoming the division of Europe more difficult.

The neutralization of Germany would have no real prospects of success. There are concerns that a neutral Germany would create instability rather than stability in Europe. On the other hand, membership of a united Germany both in NATO and in the Warsaw Pact would be an alternative suggested by GDR and U.S. scientists. Because—in view of pan-European integration— the nature of the two alliances will change from military to primarily political alliances that will eventually be absorbed by new security structures, separating both German states or a united Germany from the military organizations of NATO and the Warsaw Pact would be a really significant step. This would not affect the temporary deployment of the victorious powers' troops so their specific interests would be met.

The antagonism existing between the two alliance systems could be radically reduced, and this could help promote the creation of pan-European security structures within the framework of the CSCE process. In this way, German and European security interests would be synchronized via the Vienna negotiations. The size and arms of the Bundeswehr and the National People's Army could be reduced with the goal of total demilitarization simultaneously with the disarmament process in all of Europe. Solving the German question would radically advance disarmament. Thus Germany's membership in the Warsaw Pact and in NATO would become the engine of pan-European integration.

Increase in Foreigners Applying for Citizenship

AU0604094690 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 4 Apr 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Eastern Europeans Want GDR Citizenship"]

[Text] Berlin—In recent weeks, a relatively large number of citizens from East European countries have applied for GDR citizenship. Wilfried Rackow, department head in the GDR Interior Ministry, attributed the increasing tendency to the changed political situation. In addition, there is an unknown number of applicants from the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, and Romania, he said. Moreover, foreign citizens who have lived in the GDR for several years are also applying for GDR citizenship. In this way, they want to secure their continued permanent residence in a unified Germany.

Voter Turnout in Second Round Elections

LD0804173590

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1600 GMT on 8 April carries a roundup of voter turnout for the second round of elections from its regional correspondents. The report begins: "The second round of elections for parliamentary deputies has ended just now, presumably in most electoral constituencies. We recently received a report from the election committee that, where justified, polling booths can remain open until 2000 hours. The first, partial results are expected after 2200 hours." The first regional correspondent reports that the necessary 25 percent have turned out to vote in County Nograd's four constituencies; in Salgotarjan, it was reported from many places that more than half of those entitled to vote had turned out by 1600 hours. The situation is similar in Balassagyarmat and Paszto.

In County Hajdu-Bihar, the turnout is reported as highest in Debrecen, amounting to 35-40 percent in some places. The results are also encouraging in the regional constituencies: the turnout in Puespoekladany has been reported as 35 percent, while that in Balmazujvaros has been reported as 30 percent. Experts predict that the crucial 25 percent will be achieved everywhere.

In County Bekes, the necessary turnout was achieved in every electoral constituency by 1700 hours; more than 30 percent of the voters went to the ballot box.

In County Csongrad, parliamentary deputies were elected in the first round in two of the seven electoral constituencies. In the remaining five constituencies, more than 70,000 people have voted, which means that at least 30 percent of the electors have turned out to vote.

In County Baranya, by 1600 hours far more electors than the prescribed 25 percent had turned out to vote. On the basis of tallying up to now, at least 40 percent of electors voted in Baranya, it is reported.

In County Veszprem, by late afternoon 40 percent of electors had turned out to vote. In County Gyoer-Sopron, more than half of the voters had turned out to vote in every constituency by 1700 hours, and the turnout in County Komarom-Esztergom is 35-40 percent.

In Budapest, at least one-quarter of those entitled to vote had turned out at the polling booths by midday in all of its 32 electoral constituencies. According to afternoon information, nearly 50 percent of Budapest's electors had turned out to vote.

National Electoral Committee Updates Elections

LD0804165890 Budapest MTI in English 1310 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 8 (MTI)—A night shift has been on duty from Sunday dawn at the Budapest centre of the National Electoral Committee (NEC), located in the parliament building, to assist the work of the various electoral committees up and down the country. The centre of the committee was briefly visited in the morning by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth.

According to information from Debrecen (E Hungary) traffic officers of the Soviet Southern Army Group have appeared on the city streets to direct the traffic of Soviet Army vehicles, since according to plans, troop withdrawals and related loading works would have commenced already in the morning. In an appeal to the chief of staff of the Hungarian Army, the NEC requested assistance in getting the Soviet Army officers to postpone their operations until the end of the polling (18 hours). A related promise was made by noontime. In a personal message, Janos Nemeth, president of the NEC, welcomed the flexible reaction by the Hungarian and Soviet officials.

Members of the NEC also received reports about the violation of the no-campaign period, and some instances concerning the refusal of taking out the portable ballot boxes into hospitals. [sentence as received]

Officials of the NEC reported about the progress of linking-up computer lines, but there were however some instances of power failure reported from some localities.

Election Committee Holds News Conference

LD0804044390 Budapest MTI in English 1455 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 7 (MTI)—According to the chairman of the National Election Committee (NEC), the committee will be able to announce the distribution of parliamentary mandates for each party at 8 p.m. on Monday evening. By that time, the committee will have the results per candidate from the individual constituencies. This was announced on Saturday in Budapest, in the International Press Centre. Journalists were briefed by Janos Nemeth, president of the National Election Committee, and Pal Kara, secretary, about the events that have taken place since the first round, and on the expected timetable for the results of the second round.

Mr Nemeth said very few complaints were made about the first round. The calculation method of regional list results was questioned in three cases. However, the Supreme Court settled these matters to the satisfaction of all. The National Election Committee did not receive any complaints about the purity of the elections.

There was a debate with respect to the preparations for the second round. In the end, the Supreme Court approved the position of the NEC, according to which no other candidate can take the place of candidates entitled to enter the second round, but who are recalled.

Many just complaints were, however, made about the computer processing system. Acknowledging these, Mr Nemeth said: Starting from the experiences of the first round, the NEC will call in the records from the individual constituencies as soon as those are completed. Thus, while the computerized processing of the data leading to the authentic final result is still in progress, the committee will be able to inform the public about the aggregate results.

NEC Secretary Pal Kara was of the opinion that results from the individual constituencies will begin to arrive from 10 p.m. on Sunday evening, and the winner from each constituency will be known by Monday morning. The number of seats won by the parties on the national list will be reported by Monday evening, however, the names of the perosns who will receive the mandates from the lists will be provided only on Tuesday.

Mr Nemeth called attention to the fact that, under the current electoral system, major differences are expected with respect to the number of votes needed to win. For instance, 36,000-37,000 votes will occasionally be needed for a regional list mandate in Budapest, while only some 200 votes are, in theory, needed in certain provincial constituencies in the second round.

According to the NEC president, this electoral system is unjust, but it is also impartial as it is equally unjust for all parties.

The current electoral law is characteriszed by considerable mistrust, Mr Nemeth said, as the opposition parties wanted to over-ensure themselves at the time it was being worked out. However, Mr Nemeth declined to go into details about how the necessary changes should be made in the law.

Preliminary Results Show Democratic Forum Winner

LD0904081190 Budapest MTI in English 0608 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 9 (MTI)—The computerized vote counting centre in parliament has issued a non-final, preliminary result on the final result of the elections. This prediction already includes the processed 3,556,881 valid votes, data from 176 constituencies.

Parties	Individual	Regional	National	Total	Percent
	Mandates	(1st round)	(probable)		
HDF	114	40	11	165	42.75
AFD	35	4	23	92	23.83
ISP	11	16	16	43	11.14
HSP	1	14	18	33	8.55
FYD	1	8	12	21	5.44
CDPP	3	8	10	21	5.44
Agrarian Fed.	1	0	0	1	0.26
Independent	6	0	0	6	1.55
Joint cand.	4	0	0	4	1.04

HDF—Hungarian Democratic Forum AFD—Alliance of Free Deocrats ISP—Independent Smallholders' Party HSP—Hungarian Socialist Party FYD—Federation of Young Democrats CDPP—Christian Democratic People's Party Agrarian Fed—Agrarian Federation Independent—Independent Candidates Joint Cand—Joint Candidates

Television Reports Results

LD0904001290

[Editorial Report] Budapest Television Service in Hungarian at 2200 GMT on 8 April carries a 6-minute election report by Zoltan Novotny from the National Assembly building in Budapest.

Novotny reports the "final, unofficial" results on the basis of data from all 176 constituencies. He notes the Hungarian Democratic Forum received 114 individual mandates, 40 mandates on the basis of votes cast for the regional party list, 11 expected mandates from the national list, totaling 165 mandates. He notes this constitutes 42.75 percent of all mandates.

Regarding the Alliance of Free Democrats, Novotny says it received 35 individual mandates, 34 mandates on the basis of votes cast for the regional party list, 23 expected mandates from the national list, totaling 92 mandates. He says this constitutes 23.83 percent of all mandates.

Concerning the Independent Smallholders' Party, Novotny says it received 11 individual mandates, 16 mandates on the basis of votes for the regional list, 16 expected mandates from the national list, constituting a total of 43 mandates. This represents 11.14 percent of all mandates.

Novotny notes the Hungarian Socialist Party received 1 individual mandate, 14 mandates on the basis of votes for the regional list, and 18 expected mandates from the national list, totaling 33 mandates. This constitutes 8.55 percent of all mandates.

The Federation of Young Democrats received 1 individual mandate, 8 mandates on the basis of votes for the regional list, 12 expected mandates from the national list, totaling 21 mandates. Novotny says this represents 5.44 percent of all mandates.

Novotny notes further that the Christian Democratic People's Party received 3 individual mandates, 8 mandates on the basis of votes for the regional list, 10 expected mandates from the national list, totaling 21 mandates. This constitutes 5.44 percent of all mandates.

The Agrarian Alliance received 1 individual mandate, independent candidates received 6 individual mandates, and joint candidates received 4 individual mandates, Novotny reports.

Final Results of Local County Elections

Hajdu-Bihar County

LD0804230290 Budapest MTI in English 2232 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 9 (MTI)—Sandor Nagy, an independent candidate and president of the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions, failed to win a seat in parliament, as he finished in second place in Constituency No. 7 of Hajdu-Bihar County. The mandate was won by Laszlo Sovago of the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

Szuros Finishes First

LD0804230190 Budapest MTI in English 2148 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 8 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic and candidate of the Hungarian Socialist Party, finished in first place in Constituency No.6 of Hajdu-Bihar County, Dezso Farkas of the Hungarian Democratic Forum came in second.

Matyas Szuros told MTI's Debrecen correspondent: As interim president of the Republic, he did not utilize his right to set the date for the founding session of the new parliament. Instead, he is to hold consultations with representatives of the parties next week, and in case an agreement is reached, the National Assembly will be convened for April 23. If no consensus is reached, then the founding session could be held in the first days of May, and it is expected to last for several days.

More Results From Counties

LD0804225990 Budapest MTI in English 2130 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 8 (MTI)—According to the unofficial results from the counties, candidates of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) won in most of the constituencies. Victories by candidates of the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) are also reported, to a lesser extent.

In Veszprem, Constituency No.3, Laszlo Kover, joint candidate of the Federation of Young Democrats and the Alliance of Free Democrats, won the mandate.

In Budapest, too, reports indicate more victories by the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

Interesting results:

No.10 Constituency: Tamas Somogyi (HDF), finished ahead of Rabbi Tamas Raj (AFD).

No.7 Constituency: Gyorgy Schamschula (HDF) finished ahead of Gaspar Miklos Tamas (AFD).

No.19 Constituency: Ivan Darvas (AFD) won the mandate.

No.20 Constituency: Laszlo Rajk (AFD) won, Kata Beke (HDF) came in second, Gyorgy Morosan jr, (Hungarian Socialist Party), was third.

Foreign Minister Gyula Horn (Hungarian Socialist Party), who finished first in the first round, came in only second in the No.4 Constituency of Somogy County, finishing behind Dr Antal Gaal (HDF).

Jozsef Torgyan, attorney of the Independent Smallholders' Party, came in only second to Laszlo More (HDF), in the No.9 Constituency of Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg County.

In Constituency No.5 of Borsod County, Balazs Bardos won a mandate for the Independent Smallholders' party.

Budapest Constituencies

LD0804212990 Budapest MTI in English 200 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 8 (MTI)—Final results have been posted in several Budapest constituencies:

No. 23: - Imre Mecs, Alliance of Free Democrats

No. 12: - Ivan Szabo, Hungarian Democratic forum, finishing ahead of Peter Tolgyessy, leading personality of the Alliance of Free Democrats

No. 13: - Gyula Zacsek, Hungarian Democratic Forum, finishing ahead of Viktor Orban of the Federation of Young Democrats

No. 29: - Bela Vizy, Hungarian Democratic Forum

No. 27: - Zoltan Szeleczky, Hungarian Democratic Forum

No. 26: - Janos Denes, Hungarian Democratic Forum

No. 9: - Gabor Demszky, Alliance of Free Democrats

More on Budapest Constituency

LD0804194490 Budapest MTI in English 1827 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 8 (MTI)—According to MTI'S information, Janos Palotas, president of the National Federation of Entrepreneurs, who was a candidate of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, has won in the No. 24 constituency of Budapest.

An official of the election committee said that the records have arrived from all 61 voting stations, and Mr Palotas finished ahead of his rvial, Gabor Veg of the Alliance of Free Democrats, in 54 of these.

There was a 54 per cent turnout in the constituency.

MTI Notes Various Party Leaders' Reactions

LD0904025990

[Editorial Report] Budapest MTI in English on 9 April carries a series of Budapest-datelined reports on party leaders' reactions to the 8 April second round of elections in Hungary.

Citing Janos Kis, acting president of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SDZSZ), at an SZDSZ news conference, MTI at 0157 GMT notes, "Mr. Kis said the SZDSZ wishes to operate as a constructive, responsible opposition. Just as during the last communist government, when it did not attack the unpopular, but necessary measures of that government merely because those were unpopular.

"As a constructive opposition, the Free Democrats consider as their main task to guard that the new democratic system be a genuinely democratic one, that the freedom rights of all people fall under protection, that the mass media and the press operate freely, that law prevail instead of arbitrariness.

"The SZDSZ also wishes to guard that the new government carry out an economic policy which promotes stability and the emergence of a boom. It wishes to protect the interests of wage and salary earners, employees and pensioners. It also wishes to protect that the freedom of enterprise and international economic relations not be strangled by new monopolies, new kinds of protectionism.

"In conclusion, Mr. Kis ranked among the constructive opposition tasks to promote that Hungary's relation with the neighbouring countries be settled. This is a fundamental condition for settling the situation of Hungarians living beyond the borders of the country in a reassuring manner."

A report at 0207 GMT cites remarks by Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) President Rezso Nyers who says the election result cannot be considered a defeat. The MTI report cites Nyers further, "that the defeat of Gyula Horn was very unpleasant, and the party did not expect this. True, Gyula Horn lost, similarly to other MSZP candidates, in a way that he increased the number and proportion of his votes. The explanation for this is that relatively extensive alliances were formed between other parties, from which the HSP was left out, as the pacts were concluded against it.

"According to the MSZP President, the vote proportions made it clear that forming a government has become the moral right of the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

"In answer to a question on whether a characteristic opposition coalition can come about between the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Hungarian Socialist Party, Mr. Nyers said: There is no talk of a coalition of the two parties, a bilateral opposition is possible which could grip the MDF-led government.

"The MSZP is preparing for a constructive opposition role, and strives to solve the crisis, this is the interest of the masses and the MSZP, for if it becomes a governmental factor in the future, it will not be indifferent what condition the country is in when it inherits it, Mr. Nyers said."

MTI at 0210 GMT carries a report on remarks by Gyorgy Balogh, vice president of the Independent Smallholders Party who notes that "cooperation with the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Christian Democratic Peoples Party proved successful." The report later describes Balogh's views on the election, in particular, "He said the Independent Smallholders Party expected far better results at the elections. However, the events before the elections considerably harmed the party's chances. An internal fight came about, and the supreme leadership of the party did not prove sufficiently unified. The Independent Smallholders Party wishes to prove it is worthy of a greater power than at present in the course of the local elections.."

In a 0214 GMT report on an interview with Viktor Orban of the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) MTI summarizes that Orban feels the election outcome was as expected as far as his party is concerned. The report notes that Orban believes a government coalition is no longer a political demand, as shown by the election results. The Hungarian Democratic Forum will probably not have to take the Alliance of Free Democrats into the government. MTI quotes Orban, "In case the FIDESZ is asked to become a coalition partner, we are open to everyone."

Antall, Kis Participate in Televised Debate

LD0504095990

[Editorial Report] Budapest Television Service in Hungarian at 1900 GMT on 4 April carries a 72-minute televised debate between Jozsef Antall, leader of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], and Janos Kis, chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. The announcer is not identified.

The first question concerns what the parties plan to ensure that the remainder of the campaign is peaceful, and also that tranquillity should prevail after the elections. Antall replies that all the parties agree that personal remarks and subjectivism should be eliminated. The MDF calls on its supporters to avoid campaigning methods which do not befit a European democratic election contest.

Janos Kis remarks that now is not the time to cast responsibility on people for the degeneration of the election campaign, although he notes that it is a fact that the campaign has degenerated considerably. SZDSZ is very pleased that a statement on the ethics code of the election campaign was agreed; Kis welcomes Antall's appeal for MDF supporters to abide by European norms of campaigning, and he promises that SZDSZ will endeavor to do the same. Kis also appeals to voters to judge the parties and their candidates not on the basis of slanderous leaflets, but rather on the basis of what has been learned directly from such candidates.

[Announcer] "Both parties, indeed all the other parties too, proclaim that Hungary must join, return, to Europe. What is the essence of your concepts—if you like, how do your concepts differ regarding the kind of Europe you would like as a buttress, how you wish to go back to Europe, who your allies are in returning to Europe, and how you view the future of this Central-East European region?" [Antall] "Well, I could begin, although I believe it would be better if we were to alternate when we speak. Well, if Janos thinks it is all right, I shall begin, but I shall speak briefly, only, and I shall seek leave to speak again on this same set of topics. I believe that regarding a return to Europe, it is necessary to point out that the poltiical parties should not say that one of them wants to return to Europe to a lesser extent than the other. So it is also pertinent to campaign ethics that both of us are aware that both political parties, obviously, are believers in closing in on Europe. Neither party has country-bumpkin ambitions—I am saying this only in jest—but we are expressly European political parties, we should like there to be European political norms, and both of us, presumably, want to adapt to European party structures. It follows from this that in the spirit of the campaign ethics, we must not cast doubt on the fact that both of us are believers in closing in on Europe." Antall elaborates on this.

[Kis] "I should like to say, regarding this point, that I am perfectly in agreement with Jozsef Antall. I believe that closing in on Europe obviously means two different things. There is a foreign political aspect and there is an internal political aspect; by this we mean that within Hungary a European type of democratic system must consolidate. We will obviously speak about this later.

The foreign political aspect of the matter is obviously related to the fact that this power system which Hungary was part of, against its volition, is in the process of disintegration, or rather, in essence, it has disintegrated, but as a consequence, the entire European system has disintegrated. An end has come to Europe's being divided into two. Obviously, the separation of NATO and the Warsaw Pact is a temporary thing. A new European system will take shape here. The question is whether we shall be able to join this, and how we shall do so. I believe that it is necessary to perceive clearly that this situation contains enormous possibilities but great dangers, too, for our region.

"The possibility obviously lives in joining Europe. The danger lies in the possibility that this region might split into two, into the countries which are able to close in on Europe, and into those which slip back into a Balkan situation like that which characterized part of this region before World War I.

"I think that the crucial issue for Hungary in the very near future—which will decide whether we can close in on Europe, or whether we shall belong among the countries which sink back into the Balkan quagmire—is whether the country will manage to have a stable government and a stable parliament. We still have to discuss this.

"However, there is another problem which we must also deal with. It is not enough if we, ourselves, are able to close in on Europe, while other parts of the region, for example Romania where more than 2 million Magyars live, sinks back into Balkan conditions. Our primary interest is that the region, in its entirety, should become part of European integration, and that it should be possible to bang out in Romania, and generally in the neighboring countries, the norms which are compulsory in West Europe, which the community of West European states bring out among one another."

[Announcer] "I believe that the basic issue, the first issue, is a return to Europe, and the scale of this. I think that Janos Kis has not yet pointed out how the SZDSZ whishes to place itself in this system of relations."

[Kis] "The Alliance of Free Democrats has good relations first and foremost with the European liberal parties and with some of the social democratic parties, as well as with the governments in which such parties are present. These are the relations which we shall endeavor to mobilize after the elections, whether as part of a government majority or as part of the opposition, so that we should sort out Hungary's situation in Europe. I would like to add that in our view, it is not in Hungary's interest for us to tie the possibility of joining Europe to a set country or to a narrow group of countries. Hungary's interest is for its international relations to develop on a wide scale, for its supporters to be present across the spectrum of the European power system. Obviously, Germany will be a very important partner, but France, Italy, Great Britain, the United States outside Europe will be very important. And I also have to mention the factor which is not usually mentioned nowadays when there is talk of the future of Hungary, and this is Russia."

In reply to a remark from the announcer, that the liberals and social democrats in Europe are not allies of one another everywhere, Kis refers to the emergence of social-liberal types of parties in European countries such as Denmark and he says that the future lies between liberalism and social democracy in Western Europe.

[Antall] "I would like to note that in our view, there is a very great need for social democracy, and one of the big problems of Hungarian political life is the disappearance of the Social Democratic Party, at least its disappearance from parliament, since it fell short of the four percent. This, obviously, happened because the potential social democratic voters in part remained or joined the Hungarian Socialist Party, and in part they went over to the Alliance of Free Democrats, whose social democratic aspect has been emphasized by Janos Kis. This may change later in the Hungarian political structure, just like political movement and rearrangements are conceivable on every side in the future. However, it has to be accepted as fact that at present, the SZDSZ is a partner-party of the social democratic and liberal movements."

"We also have partner-relations of this type. Tomorrow, for example, Giscard D'Estaing, who represents the center—since the Christian Democratic Party belongs there—will arrive here. However, the main trend to which we affiliate ourselves in the European partner-system is the Christian Democratic People's Party trends, therefore the Christian Democrats in Italy, the People's Party in Austria, the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union and so forth in Germany. The European democratic union includes the Christian Democratic parties, the Chirac party from France, and linked to this is the Scandinavian countries, and the Conservative or Conservative-Liberal parties from England. Therefore, properly speaking, it can be said that this is a fortunate direction of development for Hungarian political life, in that these new political formations are located on the European center-left, center, center-right political map. For example, the Smallholders' Party and the Christian Democratic People's Party is affiliated, through this, in terms of political philosophy, to the MDF, irrespective of what its local alliance links were or are, and when. They are together with the MDF in the main European trends, they have asked to be admitted to these European organizations, and after the elections, this, for example, is how these party-systems of Hungarian political life will develop." [Announcer] "In your system of foreign political relations, or in your way of thinking, to what extent is the system of relations with Italy, and mainly Germany, given priority?

[Antall] "It is not any more privileged than in the country's system of relations [as heard]. We are naturally of the view that since economic relations with the FRG are very significant for Hungary, our relationship with Chancellor Kohl is close, just as it is with other Christian Democratic politicians. We have a close relationship with the Italians, but we also have a close relationship with the French and with Chirac or with Mr Giscard D'Estaing, as well as with the smaller countries, the Netherlands, and with the Anglo-Saxon countries. In my view, our English and American relations are also very firm."

"I would like to add that from the outset we took part in the European unity movements as believers in European unity. I must also add that when we speak about European unity, we would not believe in a European unity which is opposed to North America. So we do not agree with a Europe-centered endeavor for European integration, which amounts to opposition, and interprets this as something distinct, or which is an alternative. We have said this often in the United States and here at home. So we feel the Atlantic concept to be a important cohesive force, since two world wars proved that no matter which side a country takes, North America and Europe are inseparable from one another. As a consequence, in a new Europe, there will be a need, presumably for a long time, for a U.S. presence, and the United States can play a very positive role.

"Moreover, in the Central European region, where naturally, there will be danger of vacuum—although I do not think it will be serious after the Soviet political influence decreases and withdraws—we feel it important that the presence of West Europe should be balanced—including France, England, and North America. During and after World War, the Anglo Saxon powers showed very little interest in Central Europe, and this had damaging effects. I believe that it is a special tragedy that the great maritime powers were not interested in Central Europe for a long time, and they always took it amiss when we slipped into power systems which were not really to our liking."

The debate continues with a question addressed first to Janos Kis: What guarantees does he see for there to be genuine democracy in Hungary? Kis expounds that democracy does not mean simply that representatives of several parties sit in parliament and the majority governs. Democracy also means that the minority, whether these are the parliamentary opposition or minorities outside parliament, should have firm rights guaranteeing that the opposition is a participant and influencing force on power, and that if the people so desire it should be able to assume power from the governing party. Kis adds that the press, mass media, television and radio should be freed from all kinds of party-domination; rules are needed to prevent parties from drawing television and radio under their influence. In order for democracy to function, the appropriate psychological environment is also necessary in society: this means that people must accept that majority and minority parties have to coexist politically. In reply to a question from the announcer regarding guarantees that the opposition will act responsibly, Kis says that this matter depends on the opposition party itself, but if SZDSZ ends up in the opposition, it will conduct itself in a responsible manner.

Antall agrees that a basic condition for democracy to function—and the big parties are agreed in this—is that there should always be an opposition which is able to govern. Another condition is that the rules and legality of parliamentary democracy should prevail in the state apparatus, and this should be linked to a good system of self-government. Antall also agrees that the press is one of the power factors of democracy. He adds that a genuine political democracy can function only where parliamentary democracy is based on a well-off middle class, taken in the broad sense, to include strata such as the peasantry and skilled workers. Political democracy can not be developed where there is embittered impoverishment en masse.

This remark is followed by a discussion between Kis and Antall on what SZDSZ and MDF mean by "social market economy". Kis says that the SZDSZ program is closer to the Western-style social market economy, as it contains more of a social protective net to catch people who do not make ends meet in a market situation. Antall interprets social market economy to mean a market economy shaped by taking pansocietal interests into account; in this, social policy and the welfare net is present everywhere. He elaborates on how MDF places emphasis on social aspects, alongside its economic revival measures.

Kis notes that no one can seriously hope for rapid economic improvement in the coming years whereby certain strata will be spared the burdens they have endured up to now. No matter which party ends up in government in Hungary, unemployment and inflation will increase in the coming months. What Hungary needs for democratic development is strong independent trade unions, built from below, so that economic austerity measures are not all taken over the heads of the workforce. Antall agrees that the protection of workers' interests remains an unresolved issue in Hungary.

[Announcer] "Very many of our viewers want to know whether you would want to or wish to make a coalition with each other. This would be the so called big coalition. Decorum dictates that I have to ask you first, for you won the first round of the elections.

[Antall] "I would like to say first of all that we consider that the interests of Hungary and Hungarian democracy would be that these two parties, which stand as the two biggest parties at present after the first round of the elections, should not be coalition partners with each other. This simply derives from the previous question discussed, that is, there is a need for a governing party and there is a need for an opposition able to govern. Thus, according to the basic rules of democracy, the interests of the country, naturally, would dictate this unequivocally."

"The next question is that in a political coalition it is expedient to have coalition partners side by side who are near to each other in political thinking, in political programs and who are able to have a closer alliance with each other. We have only made an election pact at the moment in a national sense with the Smallholders' Party and the Christian Democratic People's Party. Principally, we consider that if this election alliance would get a majority which would make it able to govern, then the interest of the country would demand that such a government should represent the country."

[Announcer] "What percentage do you consider a majority which would enable you to govern?"

[Antall] "Well, it is obvious that only an absolute majority can count. And the question is that the present Hungarian constitution is formulated in a way—and parliament views it in such a way—that laws qualify as laws with constitutional force which requires two- thirds majority. This is independent from our relations with each other, but it is my conviction that if we cannot change this, Hungary wil become ungovernable. It will become ungovernable because at present, the need for a two-thirds majority is expanded onto such a vast circle—and here I refer to the stances of the constitutional court in the past period—that no matter which one of us would become government, alone or together, this situation would have to be modified. Really, only the constitution should require a two-thirds majority."

[Announcer] "So, you are saying that counting on the cooperation of the future opposition in this particular voting, you do not consider it impossible that 66.7 percent should be [words indistinct]."

Antall: "Just as in a normal country, 60-plus percent, or a two-thirds majority is not required for parliamentary governing, but generally, 50-odd percent, naturally, talking of the distribution of mandates within the parliament, is enough to be able to govern. In Hungary, the two possible situations requiring a coalition of these two political parties—that is if our parties—are: one, a stalemate situation, when simply the power relations of the two parties will develop in such a way; the second is when a crisis will come about in the country, when both parties can judge with responsibility that in the interest of saving democracy and in the interest of saving the state, the country, they will be forced to create a big coalition. But such a big coalition can only ever come about for a short period and only to handle a crisis because—and there are plenty of examples to this in West Germany with the Christian Democrats—generally, such coalitions do not work well. If such a situation will come about, the Democratic Forum does not exclude a coalition with the opposition political parties. There are political parties which are closer to us and with which we would create a coalition more willingly, and I think I have justified this thoroughly in our concept of democracy, jointly with Janos Kis, regarding why we consider this better. And in such a crisis situation, such a step can not be excluded. Naturally, this will have its consequences and the consequences have to be ascertained; and these are that the composition of such a difficult, big coalition government always has to ensure that these are people capable of cooperation."

[Announcer] "This is the first time that we have heard a great deal about this coalition from Jozsef Antall. What is your view on this?"

[Kis] "I am afraid that time is short now so I will try to be brief. First of all I have to make a fleeting remark about election cooperation. This remark is that very many county organizations of the Independent Smallholders' Party made an election pact not with the Democratic Forum but with the Alliance of Free Democratics, and this, eventually, was also acknowledged by the presidium of the party. But I am only mentioning this as an aside because is not my main point.

"Our stance is that in this extraordinary, insecure political situation in Hungary at present, and in which, it cannot be excluded—although it is not certain—that the Democratic Forum and the Alliance of Free Democrats will be unable to form a government without each other, and if this possibility seriously worries public opionion, a responsible political party cannot afford not to state clearly and unquivocally that inasmuch as this will be necessary for the formation of a solid government they are willing to cooperate with the other and form a common government. We already said this at the beginning of the election campaign, despite the fact that we knew that our main election rival was the Democratic Forum. So much for this."

The televised debate concludes with another appeal from Kis to the voters, that when casting votes they should not pay attention to slanderous leaflets, but rather they should consider what they have heard directly from the parties and electoral candidates. Then Antall calls on the electors to turn out to vote in the second round on Sunday in the largest possible numbers, as this is in the interest of Hungarian democracy.

In final messages to the "undecided" voters, Antall says that the MDF wishes to function as a European parliamentary party which intends to strengthen a feeling of security, expertise, and the assertion of human and citizens' rights in Hungary. Kis recalls how the SZDSZ staunchly opposed the party-state, and he says the SZDSZ will continue to struggle for the removal of its final vestiges. At the same time the SZDSZ will remain ready for compromise regarding the creation of a stable, strong government, whether it is part of the government majority or it is in opposition.

Antall Interviewed on Election Results

LD0904022290 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2330 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Interview with Hungarian Democratic Forum President Jozsef Antall by unidentified reporter at the Budapest Television studio on the "Election Program"—live]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] Good evening, or rather good morning to our studio guest, Dr. Jozsef Antall, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the winner. Congratulations to you. Before we look at the results, you took part in television programs on Wednesday and Friday, and said after and during the program that you did not want to estimate what percentage the Hungarian-Democratic Forum would attain at the elections. What were you thinking of then?

[Antall] Whether you believe me or not, I was not at all sure that it would be less, nor that it would be more. I thought there was still every possibility. Naturally, I trusted we would attain a victory whereby there would be a chance for the conception which I also represented in the past: that perhaps we would be able to form a coalition with a group of political parties that stand close to us, and alongside us, that there would be a very serious and significant opposition in the Hungarian parliament; that there will be every possibility for a real, functioning Hungarian National Assembly, which is in cooperation with a real opposition, to be created.

[Reporter] You were very careful with your estimates. Were you surprised by this great, shall I say, sweeping victory?

[Antall] It did not surprise me, but naturally I was pleased. Primarily because this makes it possible for the Hungarian Democratic Forum to realize its program, or at least I hope so. At the same time it also ensures for us that all for which we have struggled in the past years will now become reality. I think we owe responsibility and commitment to the Hungarian people, to turn all this into reality.

In the greatest part of the country, the Hungarian Democratic Forum finished first. The Forum was considered as being strong primarily in the countryside, and opinion polls have shown us in the past two months as being in the minority in Budapest, or certain predictions showed a catastrophic defeat in Budapest, I am pleased I doubted these indications of market research, even in advance. [passage omitted] In Budapest the Forum really did attain an overwhelming victory. I would like to emphasize this also because I hardly think that Budapest, the capital, is one of Hungary's backward regions, and if the Forum managed to attain such a result here, according to my conviction this signifies that this political party is European, modern, and a political force which really takes the country toward the West, and does no push it towards the East.

[Reporter] What now?

[Antall] What do you refer to?

[Reporter] I would like to ask, can we call you Mr. Prime Minister?

[Antall] Not at all, seeing as it is early at present to talk about this. Anyway, naturally, today we cannot yet speak about what will happen in the coming weeks. The Forum as the strongest political party is obviously a favorite to play the decisive role in forming a government. I can say that without the Forum, it would be hard to form a government in Hungary. Peculiar alliances would have to be formed in the Hungarian National Assembly for a coalition capable of governing to be created. The electoral alliance formed with the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP] and the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] naturally does not mean a government coalition. All the parties considered this an electoral alliance, and we always emphasized that we consider the FKGP and the KDNP to be the natural allies of the Forum, all the more so because in international organizations too, we belong to one direction together with these two parties.

[Reporter] I know you do not attach too much significance to opinion polls, but the market researchers claim that the majority of the Hungarian population would like to see a grand coalition. There is no chance of this today; hearing the statements, would you say there is any chance for this? Is it unlikely.

[Antall] Naturally, as to how the parties decide on the coalition, this will be determined by all parties at their own congress or national meeting or board by the organizations maintained by the party, depending on the party. [as heard] We are also convening our national meeting, and will discuss together with the deputies elected, what kind of government coalition we will create, or at least what kind of government coalition we will endeavour to create. I trust that the FKGP and the KDNP can be our coalition partner in this respect, but it can also be that these political parties, or certain people, groups, within these political parties, will not have the same opinion as us. Thus, these parties first have to decide within their parties, if there are differences of opinion, whether they want to participate in the government, or wish to stay in opposition, or with whom they will try to get together.

[Reporter] I have quickly added up the latest figures we have at our disposal for the three parties you mentioned. It seems these three parties would have 59.31 percent in the parliament. This could even be called a strong or comfortable coalition.

Could you tell us anything about the schedule? Obviously, it is in the interest of this country that there should be a new government as soon as possible, that parliament should convene, that something should begin, after the closing of an era today.

[Antall] Two months must be envisioned, for this; first, the National Assembly must be convened within one month. The National Assembly must elect its speaker and deputy speakers. The elected National Assembly speaker will perform the duties of interim head of state; the interim head of state will invite someone to be premier, and the premier must put together a government. Afterward the National Assembly will have to elect it. This means appropriate preparatory discussions are necessary. I imagine there exists in every political party a sense of responsibility, and there will exist a sense of responsibility in that whether they wish to be a government party, whether they wish to be an opposition party,. By all means they will conduct a constructive policy, because no party at present in Hungary, whether they are in government or in the opposition, can allow itself the luxury of conducting an irresponsible policy, or of placing party interests ahead of national interests.

[Reporter] Mr. Chairman, does the Hungarian Democratic Forum have a designated head of parliamentary fraction?

[Antall] Until the government is formed, the head of the parliamentary fraction generally is the party chairman or to use an archaic expression, the party leader.

[Reporter] That means you.

[Antall] That is the established political practice. We cannot know in principle whether we will be those who form a government since the Forum on its own has not achieved an absolute majority.

[Reporter] So you will have to make a proposal for the speaker of the house, since you are the biggest party.

[Antall] I think these are matters which will constitute a part of the coalition negotiations.

[Reporter] So, can we enquire about, let us say a very urgent, or immediately visible or perceptible version of your government program—only in outline form? Probably a lot of people are now watching this broadcast, in spite of the fact that it is late.

[Antall] I think the time is not appropriate for that, since we have dealt with our government program in innumerable television debates, that is, we have dealt with our party program. What I can say is that the Forum has a considered party program. Our members and our experts took part in preparing the draft of the blue ribbon committee, as well as in the Bridge Program, and we are in close contact with the author of the program prepared in Switzerland, (Otto Hieronimi). We have also taken part in drafts which amount to practical, primarily economic and social programs. Naturally, these are compromise programs, since they were prepared by several parties' and independent experts and representatives. In any event, it is necessary to take all these into account. However, at present we cannot speak about a government program as long as we do not know who will enter into a coalition with us. It is necessary for coalition partners to coordinate one anothers' programs.

[Reporter] In the event you were to enter into a coalition with this or that party and as a result of negotiations a coalition were to come about, and in probability a government led by you will be formed in Hungary, is it conceivable that you, in your government program, could take into consideration the noteworthy elements from the program of a party that did not get into government?

[Antall] I am quite well acquainted with the current parties' programs. I do not believe that, since basic issues are at issue, it might not be possible to coordinate things in the parties' programs overall. Another thing is that there exist political parties which have special ideas. However, I am not familiar with a political party program that might not be compatible on a principled basis in the given, very concrete issues, which affect the first phase of transformation.

[Reporter] I think since you depend on what the national meeting of the Forum will decide, since you depend on what the mentioned parties with which you concluded an election alliance will decide, your replies prompt me to ask what you think at this moment of a grand coalition between the Forum and the Alliance of Free Democrats.

[Antall] I think, and I apologize to the viewers, since I have said this so often, but I can tell those who have waited through to this late, or early hour, that up to now we would not have considered a grand coalition to be right. So it is not the current election result which affects us in this. Our opinion was that Hungarian democracy and a parliamentary system need the two poles to take shape in the sphere of politics, and the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Hungarian Democratic Forum by all means appeared to be the two political parties that constitute the two main forces here.

I think it is of no use to parliamentary democracy if these two parties, for example, sacrifice themselves simultaneously, whether in the event there were difficulties, or in the sphere of implementing a policy which might lie ahead of us. I trust the forum will not sacrifice itself in a manner so that it has to step down from the arena after having lost its lifeblood, but by all means it is expedient, and Hungarian democracy has to remain between these two poles, within a political shift-system.

Nonetheless, so that I should give a direct answer to this question: In my judgment a grand coalition will be necessary in this country if a statemate takes shape. Now it appears that no stalemate between the two big parties has taken shape. The other case is if a serious crisis develops in the country, either in an economic, a social, political or military sphere, which simply necessitates the creation of a national unity government. This is the case when in a democracy, it is justified to force the rivals who are basically opposed into one government.

Naturally, there is another possibility, and this can be said outright, if anyone were to attempt to blackmail the Forum, and this has happened very often in the history of politics, that small political parties have tried to blackmail the big political parties, so that by being the pointers on the scale, only under very serious conditions are they willing to accept a political partner. I do not believe, in principle, that this will happen. In principle, naturally, a situation could emerge that if our natural allies feel, for any reason, that they do not want, after all, to enter into a coalition with us, a new situation could emerge. In that situation, the Hungarian Democratic Forum will naturally keep the nation's interest in view and will primarily conduct a responsible policy; second, as a political party, it will obviously take its own interests into account.

[Reporter] Mr Chairman, thank you for coming here so late, or rather at dawn. I again congratulate you on the victory. I wish you a pleasant rest, and then good work. Thank you.

[Antall] Thank you.

Democratic Forum Reaction to Election Results

Official on Successful Campaign

LD0904012190 Budapest MTI in English 2357 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 9 (MTI)—In the hope of greater security, the people chose the party which links moderate privatization with moderate unemployment, said Ferenc Kulin, vice-president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, in a statement with MTI.

According to the politician, his party's victory is also due to the successful campaign. The initially held-back tone of the propaganda reached its peak in the days before the election, at which time it became clear that the MDF fosters good relations with the leading political forces of Europe. Psychological factors also greatly contributed to the proportion of the victory. Mr Kulin was of the opinion that many people went to vote in the second round who two weeks ago were unable to decide. There were many who chose the party that had the greater chances.

Mr Kulin said: The choice of the people could also have been influenced by the fact that the coalition which would have come about around the Alliance of Free Democrats broke down. Voters who sympathized with a coalition government voted for the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

Antall Holds News Conference

LD0904015390 Budapest MTI in English 0113 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 9 (MTI) - Jozsef Antall, president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF], held a press conference, at which he announced: The success at the elections does not make the party overly confident. The party will fulfil its main tasks, which is to lead the country out of the crisis.

Mr Jozsef Antall addressed a message to the some 15 million Hungarians in the world, he said: The Hungarian nation is unified, irrespective of which country the Hungarians became citizens of in the course of history. He said the Hungarians living beyond the borders of the country cannot be the object of party fights.

In the following, Mr Antall gave the floor to Karoly Kiraly, member of the Romanian National Salvation Council. Mr Kiraly congratulated the HDF [MDF] on its election victory. He voiced his conviction that a similar victory will be celebrated in Romania two months from now, and that the provisional unity front will win.

In this context, Mr Antall stressed that Hungarians have always believed in peaceful coexistence. He hopes that those states which received Hungarian areas 70 years ago will also forgive Hungary. Mr Antall also hopes that Hungarians will be able to live in the neighbouring countries by exercising their human and minority rights.

Mr Antall voiced his hope that following the current parliamentary elections, the HDF will fare successfully at the coming local elections. We want to see all our defeated candidates become mayors, he said.

Future Coalition Talks

LD0904072190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] The MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] is to hold a presidium session at lunchtime today after the party won a sweeping victory yesterday in the second round of the elections. It is virtually certain, though not yet final, that the MDF gained 25 mandates less than that required for an absolute majority. Party Chairman Jozsef Antall has already indicated that they wish to begin coalition discussions with the Smallholders and the Christian Democratic People's Party.

In order to discuss the further tasks, they have convened the Democratic Forum's board as well as the group of parliamentary representatives, while on Thursday the MDF's national conference will meet.

Parties Discuss Coalitions, USSR, Other Issues

LD0804090990

[Editorial Report] Budapest Television Service in Hungarian at 1910 GMT on 6 April carries a 45-minute discussion meeting attended by the following representatives of the six parties competing in the second round of the elections: Jozsef Torgyan, chief attorney of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP]; Gabor Fodor, spokesman of the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ]; (Miklos Palos) of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP]; Ivan Peto, member of the council of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]; Jozsef Antall, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]; and Imre Pozsgay, member of the presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. The topics have been suggested by viewers' questions.

The first topic is what kind of coalition do they envisage after the elections. The representatives give the following views: For the FKGP coalition with the MSZP is precluded. FIDESZ, while seeing the SZDSZ as its natural ally, is open to every party with the exception of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and the HMSZP, but it will form its decision according to what persons and programs emerge after the elections. For the KDNP the view is that 170 mandates are still to be decided. Nevertheless, it sees the MDF and FKGP as its natural allies.

The SZDSZ believes a grand coalition is needed, where party interests must be set aside so that there can be a strong and stable government. The MDF would only consider a grand coalition if there is a stalemate or an emergency and a government of national salvation has to be created. Otherwise, its natural allies are the KDNP and the FKGP; coalition with the MSZP is precluded.

The MSZP, says Pozsgay, wants to be a strong party in opposition; as yet the conditions of a rotational democracy, where a strong opposition is always ready to take over the reins of power, do no exist in Hungary. The MSZP will resist the segregation policy pursued against it. It accepts the decision of the electorate, but does not accept that the other parties should tell it what should be its role in the future parliament. However, the MSZP will not adhere to an opposition stance if it sees that the government's policies are good ones, Pozsgay says. Peto assures him that if the SZDSZ gets into power it will not put the socialists into quarantine; it will assure for its opposition much better chances than prevailed under the one-party system.

There is some discussion of the labels Christian, Democratic, and Liberal. According to Palos, the KDNP, the MDF, and the FKGP all accept Christian values. Peto points out that the SZDSZ is not an atheist party either; it has the biggest number of believers among its members and the most priests among its candidates.

The next issue raised is that Hungary is a country of two faces: Budapest and the provinces. Palos says that the election will in fact be decided in the provinces, and yet he has found to his shock that the villagers do not really understand what is happening in the country. He blames the past 40 years for the ignorance and apathy that prevails in the provinces. Torgyan shares this opinion and says that the first task of the new government will be to help the villages to emerge from the state of panic and fear in which they have been held over four decades by the petty monarchs imposed upon them; and only then can they begin to raise the country as a whole to the level of developed Europe.

On the question of the peaceful transition after the elections, Antall says that the MDF will assert the values of professionalism and qualification; there will be no witch-hunt, and no wave of dismissals on the basis of ideology, which would create a sense of insecurity and uncertainty. There is a need for responsible government, which will strike a balance between making people feel secure in a stable system and making them nevertheless sense that change is taking place. A civil service law must be created.

The last topic discussed is the present unrest in the USSR and what consequences its outcome, either way, might have for Hungary. All the parties stress their hope for a peaceful political settlement of the problems in the Baltic. Pozsgay says that we must determine our affairs in the spirit of independence and freedom, since never again will the USSR play the role in the territory which it did before. Peto dwells on Hungary's disadvantaged position in its economic relations with the USSR; he notes the fear that Soviet oil deliveries may stop at any time.

Torgyan regrets that the administration missed a historic moment of breaking all ties with the Soviet Union at once; so far only the political tie has been broken, he says. He cautions that we must prepare to protect ourselves in case the Soviet situation takes an unfavorable turn. Fodor echoes this concern, saying that the Soviet response in Lithuania is an indication that we cannot really feel safe until all the Soviet troops are out of Hungary. For the KDNP, the main thing is to protect our economic interests.

According to Antall, the danger in the Soviet crisis is real. Since we will always have to have relations with the USSR it is best if we strive to exploit the Soviet market, as the other countries will be doing the same. With regard to the Warsaw Pact, he says we must work within it for reforms in such a way as to guarantee our interests.

Socialist Party Electoral Expectations

LD0804220490 Budapest MTI in English 1930 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 8 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] expects to win a further 5 to 10 mandates in the second round of the elections, and would be particularly pleased if one of its candidates were to win in Budapest, said Bela Katona, member of the HSP National Presidium and president of the party's Budapest organization, early Sunday evening in answer to a question by MTI.

HSP spokesman Viktor Polgar recalled that only three of the party's candidates were in first place prior to the second round of the elections. In the first round, Gyula Horn received the most votes in a constituency in Somogy County, Matyas Szuros and Jozsef Csige, headmaster of a secondary school, stood in first place in constituencies in Hajdu-Bihar County.

The HSP expects to have 30 to 35 seats in parliament. The spokesman noted with regret that in many places, voters were called on to cast their ballots against the party, thus violating the 'campaign quiet' period. For instance, in Somogy County, the Hungarian People's Party spoke out against Gyula Horn on the day of the election.

Mr Polgar held it important to stress that rivals did not attack the programme or policy of the Socialist Party, but made personal remarks and dealt with the past of the HSP candidates, frequently stating untrue facts.

In conclusion, the spokesman voiced his conviction that voters with left-wing sentiments had cast their ballots for the HSP today, and that the left-wing means more than 11 per cent of the population. The first, partial indications seem to underline this.

Smallholders Party Official on 'Tactical' Mistake

LD0904031290 Budapest MTI in English 1904 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 8 (MTI)—The Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP) [FKGP] committed a tactical mistake, and thus confused the membership prior to the second round of the elections, said Istvan Prepeliczay, general secretary of the party, on Sunday evening, before the partial results were made known.

The fact that the ISP supported the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) [MDF] elicited a bad reaction, as many people misunderstood this and thought that the ISP had, with this step, already committed itself to a coalition to be set up with the HDF, although the board of the party will have to decide in this matter. Thus the Independent Smallholders' Party will probably achieve a poorer result than expected in the second round, and about 40 to 50 ISP candidates are expected to win seats in parliament, Mr Prepeliczay said.

Antall on Alleged Discriminatory Attitudes

AU0904105890 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Apr p 3

[Report on interview with Hungarian Democratic Forum Chairman Jozsef Antall by Attila Vodros; place and date not given: "Only Professional Skill Counts"]

[Text] Many people are concerned about whether they will have to fear a possible victory of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. Therefore, we asked Jozsef Antall to tell us about their policy concerning the minorities and sum up whether there is a threat of any discrimination or dismissals?

[Vodros] The election campaign is fanning not only the passions of politicians. The large number of letters addressed to us show that the voters are nervous. Therefore, the following question arises: If the MDF gets into power, will there be people, groups of people, religious denominations, or national minorities who have cause to fear?

[Antall] Our program clearly shows that a separate chapter deals with the situation and problems of minorities. In working this chapter out, we also consulted the best internationally recognized experts on the subject. We have repeatedly declared that we condemn racism and anti-Semitism. To prove it, in working these program points out, we relied on the active participation of the Jewish Cultural Association. I know you had this in mind when you asked me this question. However, if the MDF had not acted according to its program, Israel would obviously not have been among the countries who congratulated us on our victory in the first round. The issue of Hungarians living beyond our borders is also closely related to this question, and I will add that several people among the MDF leaders are playing a role in protecting human rights. The Hungarian chairman and general secretary of the Human Rights League headquartered in Paris are people who are close to the MDF. Therefore, irrespective of his origin, a professional will find his place in a government led by the MDF.

[Vodros] Obviously, you are not hearing this for the first time from me: There are people who fear dismissals and B-lists. However, this "future prospect" is not connected only with a possible MDF victory....

[Antall] Unfortunately, I know that people are frightening each other. If anyone asked for advice from me, I would tell him that everyone should wait for the legal change and should refrain from switching from one place to another, because neither place is more secure. According to the MDF, party affiliation should not be involved here. We need primarily to institute changes in places where the voters also think such changes have to be carried out, namely in the government and among the state secretaries. There will be positions—like the position of deputy premier—which will cease to exist because they are anticonstitutional. Naturally, the state administration will also be reorganized in a way that will ensure that the state continues to function. Ministers responsible to Parliament will decide on this. We want every professional to have a place and to make sure that the aforementioned reorganization is not carried out according to party policy principles. For example, we are against employing officials in proportion to the party affiliation of parliamentary deputies, that is: so many MDF people, so many Christian Democrats, and so on....

[Vodros] What you say does not explicitly refer to the higher echelons....

[Antall] Yes, restructuring requires that unsuitable people, as well as people who violate the laws or those responsible for mistaken administrative and economic decisions should step down. However the big test of the new era is whether the professional staff of state administration and other jobs are protected from extremist passions and whether those who have been unjustly disregarded, the outstanding professionals and honest employees continue to be in a disadvantageous position. I do not think I have to stress that everyone should be aware of the big change that has taken place in Hungary. The MDF is the driving force behind a responsible restructuring, and security, thoughtfulness, and appreciation of skill are our guiding principles in this.

[Vodros] You already mentioned the fact that no honest and good professional should fear a MDF government. However, there are people who can definitely welcome an MDF victory. Who are they?

[Antall] They are the nation.... The MDF supports and encourages ventures and we state that a good social policy is the best economic policy. We would like to see a wide strata of owners develop in Hungary. Do not take it as immodesty, but the concept of a social market economy appeared only in the MDF program for a long time. I do not think that the fact that we took the example of German Christian Democrats or the Austrian People's Party for this program would diminish the value of our program.

[Vodros] Mr Antall, let me ask you a question about MAGYAR HIRLAP.

[Antall] It is useless to ask! What Mr Maxwell, your shareholder, told me in Budapest and London is not a bad concept, namely that MAGYAR HIRLAP will be a well-informed newspaper independent of the parties and only close to the government. I think it is clear that I believe in a free, independent, and ethical mass media.

New Television 'Presidium' Resigns 8 Apr

LD0804205390 Budapest MTI in English 1825 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 8 (MTI)—The Presidium of the Hungarian television addressed a letter, dated April 6, to Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth. In this, the body, which was commissioned on January 4, 1990, resigned from this commission as of April 8.

The letter notes: During the period the Presidium was in office, Hungarian television was struggling with a lasting crisis in leadership. The members of the Presidium accepted the commission as they felt it to be their obligation to move the institution out of this situation. With its resignation, the body would like to make the decisions of the new government on matters related to Hungarian television more easy.

The government acknowledged the resignation of the Presidium, at the same time it expressed its recognition and gratitude for the work realized.

The government was of the opinion that the new parliament, and the government, should have a free hand in selecting the leaders of the national media. Therefore, it did not appoint new leaders, but asked Albert Toth Szalacsi, the current acting economic manager of Hungarian television, to be the acting president of Hungarian television until the new leadership is appointed.

Soviet Military Movements in Debrecen Protested

LD0804170690 Budapest MTI in English 1420 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest. April 8 (MTI)—As already reported, Soviet military traffic officers have been positioned at a number of street junctions in Debrecen (E Hungary) at dawn on Sunday, indicating that military movements are to take place in the town, the seat of Hajdu- Bihar country. This development—running counter to earlier agreements—was protested by the committee of Debrecen's constituency number two and representatives of various parties.

Ference Debreceni, acting president of the Debrecen City Council, contacted the local consul general of the Soviet Union in the early morning hours, and also reported the matter to the National Electoral Committee. Mr Debreceni told MTI that according to information received from the Hungarian Ministry of Defence, the original Soviet troop withdrawal schedule had included military movements for the region, also for Sunday. Officials of the Hungarian Army contacted the commandership of the Soviet Southern Army Group without delay, and an agreement was reached to suspend all Soviet military movement until the polling is concluded.

Comecon Expected To Undergo Major Change

OW0804122190 Tokyo KYODO in English 1122 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 8 KYODO—A senior Hungarian Government official said Saturday the communist economic conference (Comecon), a Moscow-led economic organization of socialist countries, is expected to change its name and rules this autumn in an apparent move to abolish the group.

The official said Comecon would become a consultative organization at its autumn general meeting, to be held in this Hungarian capital.

Comecon was organized in 1949 as a rival to the Marshall Plan the United States was promoting to help West European nations recover economically after World War II. It has 10 members —the Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Mongolia, Cuba, and Vietnam.

The official, who asked not to be named, told KYODO NEWS SERVICE that a new name has not yet been decided but that a name indicating its new consultative nature would be adopted.

He also said the manifesto of the new organization would have no words and phrases to do with socialist economic unity or economic planning. The concept of economic aid to developing areas is also expected to be deleted from the new rules, he said.

Comecom members agreed at a general meeting in January in Sofia to drastically review the organization and economic relations between member states. The review is expected to be finished at an economic ministers' meeting in Prague on April 20.

The new organization's design will be based on this final review and will be proposed at a general meeting in Budapest in the autumn, the official said.

He said the new group will be consultative in nature, so that the possible membership of a unified Germany in the future would not be an impediment.

Nemeth Meets Visiting New Zealand Minister

LD0604183290 Budapest MTI in English 1315 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 6 (MTI)—On Friday, Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth met Michael Moore, New Zealand's minister of external relations and international trade, who is heading a large fact-finding delegation to Hungary.

Mr Nemeth said the visit was good proof of the fact that, in its contact-building endeavours, the West has not adopted a wait-and-see attitude until the end of the elections.

He said that only support granted to the nation and the changing system, rather than people and parties, would pay off in the long run.

Both sides termed their cooperation and joint action in international organizations as 'particularly useful'.

They agreed there were good opportunities for developing bilateral relations, particularly in the food industry and agriculture.

New Zealand, for instance, could transfer its experience in pasture farming, establish a showcase farm in Hungary, and train Hungarian farmers.

Mr Moore raised the idea of cooperation between the slaughterhouses and cold-storage facilities of the two countries, in the form of joint ventures, for instance.

FRG's CDU Chairman Dregger Makes Visit

Confers With Nemeth

LD0604193290 Budapest MTI in English 1825 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 6 (MTI)—Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth on Friday met Alfred Dregger, chairman of the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union] faction of the FRG Bundestag.

Mr Dregger expressed his gratitude to the Hungarian Government for its initiating role in breaking down the Iron Curtain, and for its decision making it possible for the GDR citizens to leave the country. Mr Dregger was of the opinion that the processes currently taking place on German soil could not have come about without these precedents.

Hold Talks With Horn

LD0604193190 Budapest MTI in English 1628 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 6 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn on Friday met Alfred Dregger, chairman of the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union] faction in the FRG Bundestag, and Klaus Francke, member of the Bundestag and Central-Eastern European expert of the faction, who is accompanying Mr Dregger.

Discussions were held on current European cooperation issues, and the state of the ongoing transformation processes in the Central-Eastern European region. Regarding the international connections of these, the sides stressed the need to safeguard European stability.

The sides noted that the German reunification process should also serve the cause of European unification. The intensification of nationalist tendencies and the efforts aimed at impairing the rights of the Hungarian minorities, was noted with regret.

The German politicians highly appreciated the peaceful and conscious nature of the Hungarian transition, and the significance of the democratic elections.

Slovak Catholic Paper To Publish in Hungarian

LD0804043990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0430 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Report by Prague Correspondent Evelin Furro]

[Excerpts] A new Catholic weekly is being launched in Slovakia with the title HOPE [remeny]. This is the first Hungarian-language Catholic paper in the Slovak region since World War II. [passage omitted] From (Laszlo Jurgyik), deputy editor-in-chief, I learned that for the time being the new paper will have eight pages and will be issued in 20,000 copies. It will be sold in presbyteries and churches. Its cost will be 2.5 kcs and will be available to the Magyar faithful of Slovakia this weekend, on Palm Sunday, for the first time.

Springer Concern Acquires Another Newspaper

LD0704052190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] The Springer concern has acquired another county newspaper. In accordance with previous practice, the editorial staff of the newspaper of the workers of Komarom-Esztergom County and the staff of the newspaper publishing enterprise, with the exception of three people, quit as a body. They immediately signed the new contract with Springer. The newspaper will be published under the title TWENTY-FOUR HOURS [HUSZONNEGY ORA]. The Democratic Forum, the Alliance of Free Democrats, the Smallholders' Party and FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] have already protested against the agreement.

Foreign Minister Skubiszewski Ends Helsinki Visit

LD0604195190 Warsaw PAP in English
1800 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Helsinki: Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski has wound up his two-day visit in Finland. During his official talks with Finland's Foreign Minister Pertti Paasio, he sketched Poland's views on current European issues. It turned out during the talks that Poland's and Finland's position on the situation in the Baltic republics was nearly identical, with Poland and Finland coming out in favour of refraining from the use of force and resolving such problems which arose, for instance, in connection with the declaration of Lithuania's independence, by negotiations.

Krzysztof Skubiszewski was received Friday by Finland's Prime Minister Harri Holkeri. Reviewed was a wide-ranging array of bi- and multi-lateral issues. Skubiszewski reiterated an earlier invitation for Finland's prime minister to pay a visit in Poland. Holkeri said he was going to visit Poland shortly.

Skubiszewski also met with Finnish parliament's Speaker Kalevi Sorsa and representatives of the parliamentary floor groups. On Friday, Poland's foreign minister delivered a lecture at the Helsinki University, on selected questions pertaining to Poland's foreign policy.

In the evening, he met with representatives of Finnish Poles.

[Warsaw Television Service in Polish at 1730 GMT on 6 April adds the following: "Poland and Finland regard it as a matter of urgency to undertake steps to prepare this year's summit meeting of the CSCE member states, said Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski at the end of his stay in Helsinki. Prime Minister Harri Holkeri will arrive in Warsaw soon."]

Visit 'Successful'; 'No Contentious Issues'

LD0804093790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Krzysztof Skubiszewski, foreign affairs minister, has returned to Warsaw today after completing his official visit to Finland.

[Begin Skubiszewski recording] The visit was very successful. I discussed bilateral matters with Minister Paasio. We have no contentious issues.

There are two matters which need regulating; namely, the balancing of our trade and visa free travel. At the moment, Finnish exports to Poland are too small, but we have already made some progress in this direction. Poland is also in favor of reinstating visa free travel. This matter was also raised by Poles living in Finland, with whom I met. They would welcome the introduction of such visa free travel. Since, in fact, there were not many bilateral issues, I discussed international issues with Minister Paasio—that is security in Europe, the development of the German issue, and consequences of the unification of Germany on other countries, and also the development of the situation in the Baltic republics, and in Lithuania in particular. In this respect we have common and major interests, as well as some common concerns.

I also had a meeting with the prime minister. We discussed economic matters and the internal situation in Poland. However, above all, I would like to emphasize that I was received by the Mauno Koivisto, Finland's president. We discussed a wide spectrum of international issues. I also met Parliament Speaker Sorsa. All the meetings were very successful. [end recording]

Mazowiecki on FRG, USSR Relations

LD0804191190 Warsaw PAP in English
1724 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Report by PAP reporter Eugeniusz Guz on interview with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki by unidentified FRG Suedwestfunk radio reporter in Bonn on 8 April]

[Text] Bonn, April 8—An interview with Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki inaugurated today a two-week Polish programme (over 50 items] of the West German "Suedwestfunk" radio station.

The premier stated that Poland is interested in the good neighbourly relations with a united Germany and wants to build a better future together.

Asked about Poland's attitude towards the two-plus-four conference, Premier Mazowiecki explained that the Polish side has from the start said that it does not seek an equal status but its presence everywhere where Poland's security is being determined. The premier denied allegations on an anti-German campaign being carried on in Poland. The anti-German attitude is totally alien to the new political forces in Poland, he said.

Speaking about Poland's relations with the USSR, Premier Mazowiecki noticed that the cooperation has entered now a completely different track, the track of full sovereignty and authentic inter-state relations.

We care about favourable course of the new development (of cooperation), Mazowiecki continued. In no way do we intend to reduce our economic cooperation with the USSR. But we expect far-reaching reforms of its hitherto forms.

Asked whether Poland plans to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty, the premier said that Poland has no intention for that. As concerns the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland, we expect they will leave Poland, and the reduction of armed forces in Europe to 195,000 soldiers on each side, already agreed upon by the two great powers, will certainly facilitate withdrawal of Soviet troops, Premier Mazowiecki stated.

Swiecicki Visits Moscow 6-7 Apr

LD0904010390 Warsaw PAP in English 1732 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, April 8—A Polish economic delegation with Minister-Head of the Central Planning Office Jerzy Osiatynski and Minister of Foreign Economic Cooperation Marcin Swiecicki visited Moscow on April 6-7.

The talks with the Soviet side, headed by Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev, concerned mainly economic cooperation after 1990. The sides also agreed certain conditions of realisation of mutual obligations in the current year.

The Polish delegation also met with 1st Vice-Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Committee Stepan Sitaryan.

RUDE PRAVO Interviews Jaruzelski on Border

LD0904090590 Prague CTK in English 0804 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 9 (CTK)—An unambigous approach to the issue of the Oder-Neisse line is part of a successful development of positive processes on the European continent, Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski said in an interview carried by Monday's communist party paper RUDE PRAVO.

The Polish president stated that Poland's western border is at present the only more serious problem in Europe which has not been completely settled and confirmed by one of the parties, meaning the Federal Republic of Germany. He admitted that Europe has other hotbeds of unrest but those are of a completely different character than the question of Poland's western border with Germany, in which the point at issue is the territorial setup after the second world war. Everything that would lead to upsetting this border is a threat not only to Poland, though above all to Poland, but also endangers stability in Europe.

"We do not raise this problem in a dramatic way, we do not approach it as if our borders could be changed through the use of force. However, all unclear statements, doubts or ambiguous positions do not serve unification or cooperation in Europe," Wojciech Jaruzelski said.

Spokeswoman Niezabitowska on International Issues

LD0604182890 Warsaw PAP in English 1635 GMT 6 Apr 90

[By Jan Rozdzynski and Piotr Turzanski]

[Text] Warsaw, April 6—"Traffic restrictions on the border crossing (between Poland and Lithuania) at Ogrodniki are not vexations aimed against Poland," said Malgorzata Niezabitowska at her press conference here today while answering a question from PAP's reporter.

Niezabitowska recalled the protest of the Polish side on the issue and said that an envoy of the Polish Foreign Ministry was assured by Moscow that the decision is of a temporary character and will be lifted immediately after the situation in Lithuania has normalized.

Niezabitowska and Vice-Minister of Finance Marek Dabrowski attending the conference answered questions concerning the policy towards Germans, refugees, a meeting in Bratislava, Poland's foreign trade, economic policy and the tasks of civilian ministers in the ministries of national defence and internal affairs.

Mazowiecki-Skubiszewski: Full Consensus

There is no split between Premier Mazowiecki and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, on the question of Poland's policy vis-a-vis Germany, as the FRG press tries to suggest, Niezabitowska said.

While denying the allegations of the FRG press, she said that there were no splits on the broader plane, that is the whole of Polish foreign policy and its priorities. She mentioned these priorities and said that they will be presented by Minister Skubiszewski in the Sejm (lower house) still this month.

Poland Does Not Impose Constitution on Germans

The initiative that the constitution of a future unified Germany should embody the guarantees for Poland's western border does not mean dictating to the German side its fundamental law, Niezabitowska said.

She recalled however, that Article 23 of the present West German constitution allows for the incorporation of the territories which were within the borders of the 3rd Reich in 1937.

This is unacceptable. We do not demand such guarantees but the Polish side would accept them with satisfaction, Niezabitowska said.

Neutrality of Germany

While answering questions concerning differences in the attitude to Germany's neutrality between the president of the Republic of Poland (who once spoke for it) and the government (which is against), Niezabitowska said that these stances are not in conflict, but one can neither say that they are identical.

Sweden Does Not Send Refugees Back

Still this month, Poland's representatives will discuss with Sweden the problem of refugees for that country via Poland, Niezabitowska said. She went on to say that Sweden stopped for the time being sending refugees from Africa and Asia back to Poland. If their number does not increase, Sweden will abandon this practice, Niezabitowska said.

Before Bratislava Meeting

A meeting of politicians from several European countries, including Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary to start in Bratislava next monday will be of particular character, said Niezabitowska while answering a question from a PAP reporter.

On the part of Poland, the meeting will be attended by the president, the premier, the minister of foreign affairs, and several invited personalities including Geremek, Wielowieyski, Slisz, Bugaj, Janas, Litynski, Klaczkowski, Michnik, Wajda, Bujak, Frasyniuk.

In line with the request of the hosts, no detailed preparations for the meeting have been made. It is to be a meeting of an entirely new type without earlier prepared communiques or signing documents. It is to be a free discusison mainly focused on the common road to Europe for our three countries and on overcoming the divisions in a new Europe.

While describing the situation in Poland in the first three months of this year, Vice-Minister of Finance Marek Dabrowski said that Poland had 778 million dollar surplus in trade with hard currency countries. He expressed an opinion that it was one of the factors stabilizing the exchange rate to the dollar against the Polish zloty.

Trade with USSR Difficult

Dabrowski deemed the principles of trade with the USSR binding so far as a factor complicating the situation of the Polish economy. He went on to say that due to the economic situation in the USSR, possibilities of Soviet exports are diminishing which in turn restricts the possibilities of Poland's exports to the East.

While quoting figures, Dabrowski stressed that Poland is not interested in excessive surplus in exports to the USSR, as this surplus can lead to the growth of inflation in Poland. A delegation from the central planning office is leaving for Moscow to discuss these issues including the possibility of gradual introduction of the system of hard currency clearings, first of all for Polish exporters of foodstuffs and processed goods, Dabrowski said.

The stimulation of demand by the state at the present stage of economic transformations is dangerous, Dabrowski said. He rejected the proposal concerning "corrections" in Balceriwicz's programme motioned by PSL-O (Polish Peasant Party-Odrodzenie). These would threaten with the return of hyperinflation. Privatization, consisting also in greater participation of foreign capital is the elementary factor of economic invigoration, he said.

Dabrowski quoted examples of similar decisions in Portugal, Spain and Greece. He also told the meeting about preparations for a tax reform to be launched next year, including possibilities of lowering taxes to stimulate economy.

According to Niezabitowska and Dabrowski, it is impossible to define today the exact figures for the drop of production this year and the number of unemployed and the lowering of the population's standard of living.

Civilian Vice-Ministers in MON and MSW

New Vice-Minister of National Defence [MON] Janusz Onyszkiewicz will be in charge of foreign contacts in this ministry, while Komorowski—of educational matters. The appointment of civilians does not signal the change Poland's attitude to the Warsaw Treaty, Niezabitowska said.

She added that the scope of duties of Vice-Minister of Internal Affairs [MSW] Kozlowski will be specified after the sejm has passed the law on this ministry.

Unexpected Guest From Lithuania

While answering quetions from reporters, Niezabitowska confirmed that a minister of foreign affairs of Lithuania (she did not mention his name) had paid a visit to Warsaw a few days ago. It was an absolutely unexpected and unprepared visit, she said. The minister held talks with Polish parliamentarians but Niezabitowska did not reveal the contents of his talks.

Niezabitowska on Government Information Policy

LD0804051490 Warsaw PAP in English
1825 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 7—"I am not the minister for information for the government does not pursue information policy. Activity of this kind would be a relic of times past, would mean manual steering, interference in public communications. On the other hand, the government's role consists in creating a legal framework for the freedom of speech," Government Spokesman Malgorzata Niezabitowska told the Sejm committee for Culture and Media on Saturday.

Describing her own role, Niezabitowska said she acted as an intermediary between the government and mass media. One-hundred journalists are now waiting in line seeking an interview with Prime Minister Mazowiecki, she said.

Niezabitowska recalled that work is in progress on the law on communication, on liquidation of censorship, and on liquidation of the press concern RSW.

There exist no legal obstacles to establishment of a newspaper and this can be proved by the 403 new titles which appeared over the past eight months, Niezabitowska said. These are mostly non-commercial newspapers of information character, often with a local range, dealing with problems preoccupying small social groups. Eight such newspapers have been registered in Warsaw, she said.

Apart from existing means of communication, the government plans to set up a press centre where journalists with permanent accreditation could obtain "hot news" about the most important events in this country, Niezabitowska said.

She also said that the Polish PRESS AGENCY will be publishing a newspaper covering the activity of the supreme organs in the state. All these ventures are expected to accentuate the government's voice in the press, radio and TV, Niezabitowska said.

Daily Urges Public Debate on Privatization Laws

AU0804190490 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Apr 90 p 3

[Ireneusz Krzeminski article: "Lame Democracy"]

[Text] The word "democracy" was the most vital and universal element of "Solidarity." It expressed the longing of millions of people to become citizens once again, to be able to actively participate in decision-making, and to influence their own future and that of the entire country. Being a citizen also means rightfully expecting that the common will will not be ignored by those who are in power when they come to make decisions. Today, we see the emergence of the framework of a new social order, together with a new economic system, and decisions on such matters cannot be made without the conscious participation of those concerned; that is, all Poles.

However, what the papers carried was a brief communique stating that a government bill on privatizing the national economy had been submitted to the Sejm. What is to take place is a fundamental, revolutionary change to the situation that has existed in Poland for 40 years and the relevant bill, which no one knows that much about, is already before the Sejm! It is as if privatization and the fundamental social and ethical issues that it raises were technical details that only merit comment from specialists. It seems to me that the limits of decency have been overstepped, and I am in a better position than millions of other citizens of the republic, because I know that for several months now members of the Council of Ministers have been arguing over their visions of privatization and that there has been a clash of two, actually three different concepts. However, the debate on these concepts did not extend beyond government rooms. Not even the members of "Solidarity" held a serious, detailed debate on the subject. The papers only wrote about the subject in vague, general, indirect terms. Yet the issue is of such importance that it warrants consideration by the nation as a whole.

For years we fought to have the making of decisions that affect each and every person rest in society's hands; that the concepts that are put into practice have definite authors and politicians who are responsible for them; that the steps that the state takes accord with the fundamental values of Polish society. The way in which the law on privatization was prepared violates all these principles. The law was drafted without citizens' participation and although the privatization concepts are not anonymous, no member of the more general public is familiar with them. Finally, although the issue concerns fundamental values such as justice, dignity, and freedom, it is treated as if it were only of technical importance.

This is disquieting, because the situation is being repeated: The law on local self-government was prepared in exactly the same way. If democracy is to become part of our everyday life and not just some ethical ideal or something to frighten enemies with, then I, as a citizen, demand that this way of conducting things be changed. I call on "my" government to put the existing privatization projects before society and to initiate not just a Sejm, but a general, national debate about them. It is self-evident that the government should have its preferences, and it may suggest them to society. Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a man who is so sensitive to the ethical and social aspects of politics, must be aware of the landmark character of these decisions. I would very much like him to present his government's proposals in the manner in which they deserve to be presented—that is, as acts of fundamental significance for the institutional character of the state and everyone's lives—and to explain how he interprets their significance and ethical implications in terms of responsibility and justice.

Ortega y Gasset wrote that a state comes into being when one group of citizens invites other groups of citizens to work together with it in order to realize common, long-term goals. In 1989 "Solidarity" appeared to express long-term goals that were shared by the majority of Polish society. It would be a good thing if those people who have come from the ranks of the old "Solidarity" movement and are now implementing these ideals were able, in accordance with these ideals, to invite us to participate in the common cause of reorganizing Poland.

SdRP Criticizes 22 Jul Holiday Cancellation

LD0804102790 Warsaw PAP in English 1745 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 7—In his statement, the general secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the Social-Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SdRP) says that, supporting the law on restoring the day of May 3 as national holiday, the SDRP critically views a decision to cancel the state holiday of July 22.

This day has symbolic significance for Poles, as it means the end of the nightmare of the German occupation, rebuilding Poland, agricultural reform, improvement in the social standing and education of many disabled people and secure borders, says the statement.

The law expresses the treatment of Polish history according to circumstances. History was again adapted to meet current political needs...proclaiming falsehood that everything was bad in the history of that period, one hurts the dignity of millions of honest people, denying the sense of their entire life, the statement says.

Bentkowski Attends Stalin Victims' Meeting

LD0804050690 Warsaw PAP in English
1905 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Rzeszow, April 7—A solemn mass celebrated by Father Jozef Sadej was held at the Sacred Heart Church here and a gala meeting of the union of people deported to Siberia from the Rzeszow region affiliating about 250 people here was held today to mark the coming 50th anniversary of the biggest deportation of Poles from Poland's eastern territories that had covered at least 320,000 people, chiefly members of families already previously deported to the USSR.

Polish Justice Minister Aleksander Bentkowski took part in the meeting. He told the gathering about steps taken by the government of Premier Mazowiecki to ensure moral and material satisfacton to victims of Stalinism in Poland, particularly to about 2 million deported and imprisoned people.

Minister Bentkowski said also that the Polish Government had forwarded a postulate to the Soviet Government for the latter to pay compensations for the forced labor of Poles in the USSR.

Social Democratic Union Adopts Declaration

LD0804101390 Warsaw PAP in English
2005 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 7—Over 260 representatives of 8 regional social democratic unions of the Republic of Poland, a number of initiative groups and Sejm deputies decided during a founding assembly held here today to create the Polish Social Democratic Union.

In an adopted "declaration of principal values" members of the union stated among other things, that "Poland faces vital social, civilization and cultural challenges. The accelerated transformations in the political system and in the economy demand to be given a clearly social democratic direction.

"The union presents such programmatic proposal which creates an optimal chance for changes in Poland. The base for this idea is the well-being of man, his rights, interests and development."

During the debate it was stated that the union's goal is the well-being of all citizens in a strong state of law with secure boundaries, parliamentary democracy and social justice.

As for the economy, the union is in favour of a market economy with rational state interventionism. There is also a need, according to the union, for a just spreading of the effects of coming out by Poland from the economic crisis on respective social groups.

The union also speaks in favour of full tolerance. Democracy, dialogue and pluralism.

Unanimously elected chairman of the union and of its national council (hitherto leader of the Union of the Social-Democracy of the Republic of Poland and Sejm deputy speaker) Tadeusz Fiszbach said this in his address closing the debates:

Poland is in need and we want to serve this need with all our strength. In our actions, we will be guided by the good of an individual and the weal of the republic. Let us be guided by the fath that our work will not be wasted.

Participants in the assembly elected a 50-person national council of the union and a 10-person presidium of the council and a 5-member audit commission. Duties of vice-chairmen of the national council were entrusted to deputy Wieslawa Ziolkowska from the Wielkopolska union (parliamentary issues), Professor Jacek Wodz from the Silesian-Dabrowa (programmatic issues) and to Kazimierz Kik from Warsaw (organizational issues).

An initiative to set up an informal, for the time being, union of young social-democrats was forwarded during the assembly

A stand on economic policy and international questions was adopted. The latter stressed the necessity to maintain good relations with all neighboring countries and the need to find honorable place in the common European home by Poland.

The assembly aodpted a stand on systemic-legal and social problems. The gathering adopted also a resolution rejecting the communist doctrine. They adopted a stand on counteracting unemployment of women and pauperization of families in Poland. They deemed it also purposeful to set up a foundation to be a material base of the union now having 3,500 members.

Democratic Party Holds Assembly Session

LD0904030890 Warsaw PAP in English
1854 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 8—At their meeting held here on April 7 and 8 participants in the Democratic Assembly of the Democratic Party [DP], CC [Central Committee] members, heads of the DP provincial and local chapters, DP deputies and representatives in the state administration, adopted a resolution which obliges the DP parliamentary floor group to initiate actions with a view to passing a law on political parties.

The resolution also states that the relations inside the coalition and the government's personnel policy on SD [Social Democrat] members should be made more democratic.

The DP is against using foreign money in the electoral campaign to local self-governments. We will oppose the practices of financing political activity from foreign sources, the resolution reads.

Decree Outlines Foreign Investment Opportunities

AU0504135090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0947 GMT 5 Apr 90

["The Economy: Where Can Foreign Capital Be Invested?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 5/4/1990—The foreign capital can be invested, according to the Decree-Law No. 96/1990, in industry, agriculture, constructions, tourism, scientific and technological research, economic exchanges with foreign countries, banking services, ensurances and other domains of interest for Romania's national economy. The foreign capital cannot be invested in the armament, ammunition and explosives industry and in other activities established by the Romanian Government, Mr. Adrian Gheorghiu, manager of the Cooperation and Joined Societies Department of the Foreign Trade Ministry, explained in an interview granted for the independent daily "ADEVARUL."

The new decree-law offers larger possibilities of investment for the foreign capital, he said, and the Romanian Government can—if requested by those interested—establish other domains where foreign capital can be invested. Abrogating the provisions of article 2 of the former Decree no. 424, the new decree-law removes the subjectivism which led to the restricted possibilities of investing foreign capital in the Romanian economy.

The speaker showed inter alia that the notion of "trading company" in the new decree-law was taken from the Romanian Trade Code in 1939 and it includes marketing and production societies or services with the participation of foreign capital in the construction of new productive units, in the equipping or modernization of the existing ones, management, raw materials supply, marketing the production on the home and foreign market with no restriction.

Israeli Ambassador Discusses Relations

AU0504133790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0956 GMT 5 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 5/4/1990—This is a great opportunity for Romania to gain the place it deserves in Europe and in the world, stated to "TINERETUL LIBER" daily Israel's ambassador to Bucharest, Mr. Tzvi Mazel, who went on: I think that from now on Romania will be able to contribute with its potential to the cultural and scientific progress of mankind. I think that what happened in December was Romania's great revolution.

There are numerous contacts between Israel and Romania in all areas; the number of people travelling in both directions increased 20-30 times. Israel and Romania seek domains of cooperation on a government plane. It is in this context that falls the visit of the Romanian minister of agriculture who attended the "Agritech '90" fair specialized in farm machinery and technology.

The Romania-Israel Friendship Association set up not long ago which gathers numerous Romanian personalities is an expression of the sympathy mutually nurtured by the two peoples. It will certainly contribute to the development and deepening of these friendly links, to the facilitation of contacts between the citizens of the two countries.

Premier Roman To Visit Spain in Late Apr

AU0604171690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1524 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/4/1990—In the second part of April Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman will pay an official visit to Spain at the invitation of Spain's Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez.

Daily Comments on Lack of Election Publicity

AU0404120590 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 27 Mar 90 p 1

[Ion Stoica article: "Where Are the Electoral Publicity Centers?"]

[Text] A week has passed since the beginning of the electoral campaign. However, that effervescent atmosphere which we were expecting, according to some signs at the Provisional National Unity Council debates, is missing. Expressing bewilderment in front of the representatives of the leadership of new parties, they explained it saying that one of the major reasons for such a situation was the slowness of state organizations or state bodies in charge of taking organizational measures, that are of utmost importance for the practical inauguration of the electoral campaign. One of the first concrete measures that has to be taken is to establish the place for electoral publicity. In this respect, the decree-law issued for the election of the Romanian parliament and the country's president specifies in its article 52: "The mayoralty is dutybound to establish special places for electoral publicity within 5 days from the start of the campaign, taking into consideration the number of parties and political groups which declare that they will come up with lists of candidates and taking into consideration the number of independent candidates."

Therefore, at least in Bucharest—and as far as we have been informed, also in other localities, even if not in all of them—the deadline has passed and the mayoralty has still not fulfilled its elementary task to enable parties to carry out their electoral campaign. There is little time, very little time left until the elections. What are we waiting for in establishing special places for electoral publicity? We believe that the government also has something to say in this matter. We are waiting for it, in the way that we are waiting for other actions that are included in the Election Law—which certainly is not optional.

Nationwide Meetings Establish Youth League

AU0304190090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1727 GMT 3 Apr 90

["Political Life: Creation of Youth League of Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/4/1990—After five successive all-country meetings in several towns throughout the country the Youth League of Romania, gathering hundred of thousands of young workers, farmers, intellectuals and civil servants in more than 60 organizations, was created. The aim of the league is democracy, as well as the safeguarding of the ideals of the December revolution. The Youth League of Romania militates for unity and independence and appeals to all its organizations to take concerted action along that line.

According to Mr. Mircea Catana, league president, and Octav Marcovici, head of the league secretariat, its activity opened with a dialogue conducted with the Provisional National Unity Council and the country's government on formulas to represent the Romanian youth to state power and administration bodies. Another initiative on the part of the League is the administration of the considerable heritage of the former Union of Communist Youth organization. In this connection, the League arranged an all-country meeting of the youth in Timisoara, which was attended by more than 120 young people representing all counties. They decided to create boards to administer the funds and assets in each county and a secretariat on a national plane to play the intermediary between county youth commissions and the government.

Government Decision on Workers' Training

AU0404104690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0844 GMT 4 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 4/4/1990—A decision of the Romanian Government stated that the state units can organize training and multilateral training courses to ensure the number of workers required for the jobs specific to their activities.

The courses which last between 3 and 12 months function of the complexity of the jobs are usually organized without interrupting the work. [sentence as received] The theoretical training of the participants can be made in the units where they work, in the units of preacademic instruction or in the training centres of ministries, of other central or local bodies.

The training courses with the interruption of the work are organized for those jobs which cannot be learned without risks for the working collectivities.

The courses can be attended by the graduates from lyceums who are not skilled, by those who cannot work in their previous jobs (re-training) or cannot be efficiently used during their working time (multilateral training).

During the courses the participants receive their tariff pay and bonuses for length of service, for difficult conditions, etc.

The training period is considered as length of service in the unit.

Brasov Public Transport Enterprise Strikes 3 Apr

AU0404105490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0942 GMT 4 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/4/1990—Starting Tuesday, 3 April, the workers of the Public Transport Enterprise of Brasov went on a unlimited general strike. The major claim, on the fulfilment of which the duration of the strike depends, refers to a higher pay for the Saturdays off and the Sundays on which the staff work, irrespective of the stipulations in the labour code. Other claims refer to the ensurance of spare parts, the proper equipment of transport means and maintenance workshops.

NLP's Campeanu on Romania's Future Prospects

AU0504182390 Bucharrest ROMPRES in English 1624 GMT 5 Apr 90

["Interviews-Statements" — ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/4/1990—"We want to represent the power of peacefulness in Romanian politics" ...stated Mr. Radu Campeanu, chairman of the National Liberal Party [NLP] in a recent interview with FLACARA. "We need quietness to get out from the disaster we inherited as soon as possible". Referring to the fact that liberalism took the developed countries to prosperity, Mr. Campeanu stressed: "I am convinced that the Romanian people will have that standard of living in a not too distant future and Romania will take back its place in Europe". The NLP chairman holds the opinion that Romania's economy will recover much sooner than the economies of other countries. He gives two reasons for that: firstly because Romania is a rich country (and its riches were mismanaged by an incapable, anachronic system), and secondly because the Romanian people has the power to understand new situations and adjust to new realities, it has the courage to take the road to prosperity."

Disappearance of Dictators 'Guaranteed' Revolution

AU0504182590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1632 GMT 5 Apr 90

["The Film of the Revolution: The Recourse to Method"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/4/1990—The two "precious parcels"—the dictators' bodies wrapped up in canvas stayed lost for the whole Christmas night. They were there on the Stadium, under the open skies. "It was paradoxically simple", General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu says in the interview he and Mr. Gelu Voican Voiculescu granted to the newspaper DIMINEATA in connection with the trial and the execution of the two dictators.

"The helicopter crew took off in a hurry after leaving the two "parcels" on the stadium, where they could not be seen because of the dark. We found them only on the morning of December 26 and we took them to the Central Military Hospital Morgue where they were cleaned and placed inside refrigerator shelves. No one was allowed to tamper with them".

Five days later, on December 30, at 17:00 hours, the two dictators' dead bodies were taken out of the morgue, placed inside Army coffins and buried in graves that are one hundred metres apart.

In the last episode on the process, execution and burial of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu, of the interview that Colonel General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu and Mr. Gelu Voican-Voiculescu, deputy prime minister, granted to the newspaper DIMINEATA, the two dictators were said to have been buried in a hurry, without an Orthodox Service, with nobody attending and with no crosses marking their graves. Only the next day crosses were placed on the two graves lying one hundred metres apart.

They were not incinerated, because inhumation left room for identification. There were still fears that people would come and exhumate them, says General Stanculescu, to make sure that they were dead indeed.

Concluding the episode, General Stanculescu and Mr. Voican say that the disappearance of the two dictators was the "fundamental element that guaranteed the future of the revolution". "Until 25 December, one can speak about the overthrow of the Ceausescu regime. Only their deaths assured us that the newly achieved and frail democracy could become a reality", says General Stanculescu in conclusion.

TV Shows 'Threatening' Iron Guard Letter

LD0604110490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Yesterday evening, on the television election series viewers saw a program by the Democratic Association of Magyars in Romania. The 20-minute compilation really was a campaign program, with only hints of the earlier, serious conflicts, thereby indicating the peaceful intentions of the Magyars.

Not entirely in this tone, Bucharest television received another threatening letter from the Iron Guard, saying such things as: Romanian society can only be cleansed by blood. The program announcer showed the letter because, as he said, he would like to signal the authorities that this organization, which by the way also threatened the government, really ought to be abolished.

The Vatra Romaneasca organization in a statement demanded the dismissal of Dan Petrescu, deputy minister of culture, who at a meeting of intellectuals in Budapest in March, on Hungarian radio described the organization in unflattering words. A few days ago, his own minister Andrei Plesu, dissociated himself from Petrescu because of this statement.

Finally, concerning a rather strange statement. Ioan (Lup), a Peasants' Party politician, was asked by the correspondent of a weekly whether, in his view, Gorbachev stood behind the December revolution. The politician's reply was: neither Gorbachev, nor Lazlo Tokes, had a key role in the break-out of the revolution. Ioan (Lup) considers it a coincidence that the Magyars came out in defense of Tokes at a time when an anticommunist demonstration was organized in Timisoara.

'TV-22' To Promote Revolution's 'Ideals'

AU0604165490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0905 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/4/1990—There was founded a "TV-22" Romania Club defined as "a public social-cultural and apolitical association" aimed at "supporting the Romanian Free Television in promoting the ideals of the December 22, 1989 revolution."

To this end, the club will arrange various events to commemorate the martyrs of the revolution on the 22nd of every month, will offer suggestions for the improvement of TV programmes, will initiate exchanges of experience with kindred associations in other countries.

Five More Parties Register; 68 Total Now

AU0604165690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0920 GMT 6 Apr 90

["Election Campaign—68 Political Parties"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/4/1990—In full election campaign, the Bucharest City Tribunal continues to register new political parties. Another five parties have been set up in the past ten days. Here they are in the order of their registration: the Labour Party, Bucharest; the "Homeland's Democratic Future" Party, Bucharest; the Hungarian Christian Democratic Party, Cluj-Napoca; the "Bratianu" Liberal Union, Bucharest; the National Republican Party, Cluj Napoca.

The number of political parties in Romania is now 68.

Free Democratic Party Promotes 'Initiative'

AU0604170790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0926 GMT 6 Apr 90

["Election Campaign—Towards a Centre Coalition"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/4/1990—A centre political formation, the Free Democratic Party addresses to all those who wish a truly free and democratic society in Romania.

We are the partisans of the sustained promotion of free initiative, stated the president of that political party, Mr. Nica Leon. We think that the setting up of small but well articulated units solidly grounded on high efficiency principles, can provide examples of initiative. As for the farmers, we start from the idea that they should solve of the problems confronting them. [sentence as received]

The Free Democratic Party is a member of the centre grouping together with another 22 parties.

There are chances that we merge until the elections and advance a common list. And under those circumstances, we will have a much more important say, stressed Mr. Leon who specified that his party had a strong organization in Bucharest.

PNUC Executive Bureau Discusses Tirgu Mures

AU0604170890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0930 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Bcharest, ROMPRES, 6/4/1990—The Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] debates today the events occurred in Tirgu Mures and neighbouring settlements in the second half of March.

The debates are held on an account made by the commission set up during the 20 March meeting of the Executive Bureau.

Gathered in Bucharest this morning, the PNUC Executive Bureau adopted a comprehensive agenda which includes, inter alia, a survey of the activity of the Prosecutor's Office of Romania over 1 January-31 March 1990, as well as the drafts of seven normative acts. One of them refers to the authorization and operation of representations of foreign trade companies and economic organizations, another to the amounts of currency the persons travelling abroad in their own interest are entitled to possess.

HDUR Executive Bureau To Meet 19 Apr

AU0604164790 Bucharests Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] The Presidium of the nationwide Provisional Executive Bureau of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDUR] held a working meeting on 5 April 1990. During the meeting the participants examined organizational issues and tasks connected with preparations for the congress of the Union and for the electoral campaign. The participants decided that the date of the Union's congress will be 21-22 April and that it will be held in Oradea.

In accordance with reports presented by the local organizations, the participants in the meeting reached the conclusion that the preparations for the elections are being carried out in a positive manner. Everywhere, within local organizations, the lists of candidates have been handed in and it was decided that the lists should be registered with the electoral commissions.

The Presidium hereby announces that it intends to organize a meeting with the participation of all political parties, aimed at ensuring the necessary conditions for the electoral activity so that it can be carried out in a correct way, respecting the principles of political pluralism.

The next meeting of the Presidium of the Countrywide Provisional Executive Bureau of the HDUR will be held in Oradea on 19 April.

NCDPP Calls for Alliance Against NSF

AU0604170990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0928 GMT 6 Apr 90

["Election Campaign—National Christian Democratic Peasant Party Calls for an Alliance Against the National Salvation Front"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/4/1990—In the April 6 issue of newspaper DREPTATEA, mouthpiece of the National Christian Democratic Peasant Party [NCDPP], that party proposes "the joining of all democratic forces against the National Salvation Front". The National Christian Democratic Peasant Party justifies this proposal by "the need to offer the Romanian people the clearest possibility to choose between communism and a democratic alliance."

Ratiu Chosen Peasant Party Presidential Candidate

AU0604180790 Paris AFP in English 1635 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, April 6 (AFP)—Ion Ratiu, chairman and founder of the World Union of Free Romanians, has been chosen by the National Peasant Party (PNP) as its candidate for a presidential election to be held May 20, sources close to him said Friday.

Aged 77 and a reputed dollar millionaire, Mr. Ratiu spent 50 years in exile before returning to Romania in January following the overthrow and execution of President Nicolae Ceausescu.

His is the fourth officially announced candidacy for the election. The National Liberal Party is putting forward Radu Campeanu, Ion Bratianu has been chosen by the Liberal Union, which split off from the Liberal Party in February, and Nicu Stanescu is the candidate of the small Democratic Unity Party.

Ion Iliescu, chairman of the ruling Provisional Council of National Unity, is expected to announce his candidacy shortly for the National Salvation Front which he heads.

Mr. Ratiu is an experienced journalist. For many years he also ran a shipping line which he founded in London, together with a news agency. He is a founder-member of Amnesty International. He set up the World Union of Free Romanians in Geneva in 1984.

Mr. Ratiu married a Briton, Elizabeth Pilkington, heiress to the fortune of the Pilkington glass company. The National Peasant Party was founded in 1917 in the house where he was born, at Turda in Transylvania. He latterly resided at Zermatt in Switzerland before returning to Romania, where he received his Romanian citizenship papers on March 29.

Ratiu Cited on Need for Political Stability

AU0504181290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1353 GMT 5 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 5/4/1990—Romania has all the conditions to recover and flourish in a relatively short time, Mr. Ion Ratiu, president of the World Union of Free Romanians, said in an interview granted for daily "ROMANIA LIBERA," mentioning that the Romanian people is intelligent, instructed, with no illiterate persons nowadays, adaptable, full of resources determined by the sufferings of the past and the force of their nature. Romania has genuine natural riches, therefore it is propitious for massive investment, with only one but very important condition: to set up a genuine democracy. Mr. Ratiu considers that the country's economic recovery will be made only by investment of foreign capital because—and only if—Romania offers investors exceptional conditions, much more profitable than those offered by the other communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe; but stability is the guarantee for such investment.

Referring to his recent contacts with Western leaders, Mr. Ratiu said: I am empowered by Mrs. Margaret Thatcher to inform you that the British Government follows with attention the situation in Romania and wishes that democracy be set up in our country .

* Committee Appeals for Stability of Army

90BA0024A Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 8, 9, 10 Mar 90

["Appeal for Army Stability" issued by the Action Committee for Military Stability]

[8 Mar p 4]

[Text] The Romanian Army participated in the December Revolution as a sacred duty toward the people and was one of the decisive factors for toppling the dictatorship. The total dedication of the Army to the ideals of the Revolution hastened the victory, cut down the number of victims fallen on the altar of freedom, and ensured the continuity of the Romanian state as such at those dire moments.

Within the general efforts made by the entire Army, which resolutely cast off the burden of serving the dictatorial regime, the actions carried out by all the military forces of Bucharest, Timisoara, and the other regions of the country were joined by those of the Transylvanian units and commands. Their joint actions created favorable conditions so that on 22 December 1989 the power was won by the people's masses without bloodshed, in many cities even before the dictator was chased out, and later served to guarantee this victory.

Unfortunately, as the distance in time between us and those eventful days grows, the unity between the Army and the people, as well as the unity of action of the Army are increasingly coming into question. Shadowy forces, intent on creating instability in the country by discrediting the Army, splitting it, and progressively eroding its capacity for action are carrying out insidious and inflammatory actions.

In view of these provocations, whose obvious characteristics indicate a high professionalism, the majority of military cadres, officers, and troops from Transylvanian units, clearly aware of our primary mission, see ourselves obligated to take a firm attitude and to appeal for a full and reasonable understanding of our responsibilities. Along this line, we want to specify that on the eve of the Revolution, the military commands and units in ancestral Transylvania received no order to go out against the population and made no preparations for that purpose. The troops were put on alert amid extremely tense international political and military conditions and at the legal order of the minister of national defense, to repel what appeared as imminent foreign aggression and to foil the acts of terrorism, diversion, and vandalism expected toprecede and accompany such aggression.

We want to point out that our area of military responsibility encompassed a vast area of the national territory, including hundreds of kilometers of border, a large number of counties, and hundreds of strategic, operational, and tactical objectives.

In line with this mission, the majority of the forces in the units were ordered to prepare to defend the border, while some were tasked with preparing for ground and antiaircraft defense of important military and civilian targets, participating in preserving public order, and neutralizing diversionist and terrorist groups.

During this period, because the troops were confined to garrisons, they were isolated from sources of information. The only information that the units received came premeditatedly through official channels and confirmed the idea of imminent foreign aggression combined with domestic terrorist actions, and aggression that was represented to us as being aimed at wrenching Transylvania away from the body of the fatherland.

To reinforce the credibility of this hypothesis, former Lieutenant General Ilie Ceausescu, at the time secretary of the higher military council, was dispatched to several commands to furnish details and other intelligence in support of the idea that certain Eastern and Western countries were preparing to infiltrate into the country about 2,000 terrorists recruited mostly from among refugees. Unfortunately, foreign information gained by the military commands during the same period reinforced our conviction that this threat was real. In view of the need to avoid discussions that may not do any good to the relations between the Romanian people and other European nations, we believe that it serves no purpose to air these facts. However, they will be put at the disposal of the governmental commission of investigation.

The truth about the events in Timisoara was kept from us throughout this period; the information supplied to us made it appear that there had been terrorist actions, diversion, and destruction in that city, triggered by nationalist-chauvinistic and irredentist demonstrations.

In those conditions, some smaller units were taken out of their local garrisons at the insistent demand of the first secretaries (sole commanders of the troops) and with the approval of the minister of national defense. Those smaller units were taken out to defend the headquarters of local party and state bodies, vital institutions, works of art and public squares, as well as to protect the population against terrorists, hooligans, and vandalism.

The troops brought out in various cities were not ordered to shoot into the population. In point of fact, at that time the issue did not arise at all, because no confrontations were expected between the Army and the population. The specifications concerning the use of firearms received from the higher echelons were precisely in keeping with regulations and orders in effect, were completely legal, and concerned the line of action of smaller units in the case of attack or in danger of being disarmed.

Before the smaller units were brought out to those points, the following kind of actions were reported in several parts of Transylvania: threats to blow up the chemical combines of Timisoara, Tirgu Mures, Arad, and Dej; threats against the headquarters of local state authorities in Arad, Bistrita, Baia Mare, Tirgu Mures, Turda, Miercurea Ciuc, Sibiu, and Brasov; and preparations to commit acts of vandalism and destruction against certain public institutions and commercial units.

These reports, corroborated by others, created the picture of imminent wide-scale terrorist operations preceding the outbreak of an aggression which seemed to be aimed at the military occupation of Transylvania by foreign troops.

There was no intelligence about preparations for revolutionary actions; no political opposition force attempted to contact the Army or alert the military units about the possibility of protest movements, something that would certainly have led to different Army reactions.

[9 Mar p 4]

[Text] On the date that military units were dispatched to various towns we were unaware of the situation prevailing there or of the deployment of the other forces designed to ensure public order. Later investigations revealed, however, that at the time the military units arrived at the respective locations, on the basis of previous measures taken by the civilian authorities, the following forces were already in place: militia patrol posts (just militia or combined with members of the patriotic guards); security guard troops; anti-terrorist units; securitate cadres from local securitate bodies; plainclothes or covert teams working among the population or posted in safe houses in various locations; and special security forces not shown in the records of local securitate bodies, in plainclothes and infiltrated among the population. All those forces were armed, and their methods of actions are for the most part still not known to this day. We are not stating this in order to put the blame on someone else, but out of a desire to establish the entire truth about those events.

Immediately upon arrival at the designated locations, some of the units were attacked by suspicious persons and groups of unidentified rioters who, in our opinion, initially had nothing to do with the demonstrations that followed. In reality, their purpose was only to provoke the Army and unleash bloody incidents and victims, with a view to mobilizing the population against the Army. They managed to involve people of good faith in these confrontations, too, true patriots, and a number of innocent persons who happened to be on the spot, as well as drunks or people unaware of what they were doing. The provocations consisted of attacks and threats against the troops, who were also hit with stones, bricks, bottles, metal balls, pieces of wood, crates, and other objects; attempts to disarm soldiers or to prevent them from moving to occupy various targets; direct physical attacks on commanding officers and inciting soldiers to kill their commanders; injuring commanding officers by firing upon them from concealed positions. As a rule, however, the persons who initiated such incidents quickly disappeared from the spot, as in point of fact was also the case with some of the January and February demonstrations.

That was the situation when the incidents occurred that compelled some units to issue warnings and to fire warning shots in the air, something that created panic and confusion, which were once again fully exploited by repressive forces hidden among the population or in previously prepared locations. These situation were exacerbated by the fear and dread felt by military groups isolated among the population, by the fact that they did not recognize the intentions of attackers which they mistook for terrorists, and by the fact that the soldiers were not prepared to deal with such extreme situations. They were also exacerbated by poor visibility and attempts by some people to drive large vehicles, with lights on, into the military units.

In these conditions, it is possible that the shots fired as a warning may have accidentally caused victims, but the troops did not intend nor tried to hit anyone.

To those incidents we must add the responsibilitiy of those who, consciously or unconsciously, provoked them through suicidal behavior (a behavior that seems to have been premeditatedly induced by people with the criminal intent of sacrificing others' lives); thus, some were under the influence of alcohol or drugs; in other cases, vandalism was inflicted by irresponsible elements on public institutions and stores.

We want to emphasize these facts not to in any way besmirch the sacred memory of the heroes of the Revolution, those whose sacrifice brought on the dawn of new Romania, but to show that in the places in which the demonstrations proceeded peacefully, without provoking the troops, the demonstrators passed unimpeded through Army deployments, and the 22 December victory was won exclusively through peaceful mass demonstrations.

The military commands were totally taken by surprise by those incidents that had not in the least been expected because of complete lack of information and of objective premises. As soon as they occurred and the mass, revolutionary character of the movement became clear, in opposition to orders from above and from local party organizations, the troops were pulled out from among the population and back to garrisons. The decision was made on the evening of 21 December at the personal risk of the leadership cadres who assumed the responsibility for being viewed as traitors and treated as such, in view of the fact that their moves were monitored by the bodies of reprisal. Because of some very complex circumstances, regrouping the troops was very difficult, but the real purpose of the action was attained without the local party bodies becoming aware of it.

As a result of that action, as of midnight 21/22 December 1989, it became possible to avoid any confrontation between the Army and the population; their fraternization was ensured and they united their struggle for the victory of the Revolution.

Practically speaking, as of that date the Army assumed complete responsibility for defending the Revolution, the struggle against the terrorists, and the defense of public order, with a view to ensuring the activity of the new institutions and of vital socioeconomic units. Many of the troops shed their blood for the cause of the people's freedom.

Along this line, during the 22-30 December period and later, the Army completely took charge of public order, of fighting against the terrorists, and defending vital socioeconomic targets and the population, while at the same time maintaining their capabilities to defend our national independence and territorial integrity. At the time we answered thousands of telephone appeals for help and protection, as well as appeals from many enterprises, institutions, and individuals, without waiting for any other orders and permission, and without political, national, religious, or other types of discrimination.

[10 Mar p 4]

[Text] Now, however, the Army's participation in the Revolution is either contested or tendentiously distorted, and insistent efforts are being made to disrupt the Army's unity of command and action, to present it in an unfavorable light, to exploit certain legitimate demands by various categories of military men for propaganda purposes, and to incite them one against the other.

Resolutely condemning such provocations and subversive actions, we want to call attention to the fact that they are insistently and premeditatedly directed against the entire Army, and that they can serve only some foreign purposes aimed at incapacitating the country's defense system, unleashing a civil war, and bringing about Romania's territorial dismemberment. Hostile, anti-Romanian forces are asiduously endeavoring to exploit any fissure among or in the organization of the military system.

Along this line, one of the major aspects are speculations on the guilt of some of the Army in the events between 16-22 December 1989, especially in Timisoara, Bucharest, Cluj, Brasov, Sibiu, Turda, etc.

In that connection, it is being completely groundlessly affirmed that allegedly "wood rot" exists in the Army that should be cleaned out, and that some military men—officers and soldiers—were criminals. Attempts are thus being made to accredit the idea that the Army is made up of two parts—a criminal element, that allegedly acted against the people up to 22 December, and another, revolutionary part, that joined the people after 22 December 1989. We must clearly state that there are not two Armies, a good one and a bad one, but one Army which, from lowly soldier to the minister, acted in complete unity and in the interests of the people. Consequently, there is no question of compromised cadres or guilty soldiers. In the greatest majority of cases, the military who acted prior to 22 December are the same ones that later ensured the victory and consolidation of the Revolution. The fact that certain military elements were not involved in the events prior to 22 December was due not to their political options as opponents, but to the fact that the majority of the personnel of the commands and units was from the beginning earmarked for the main action, namely for preparing to defend the border. Thus, the attempt made by some to derive political gains from that and to accuse their comrades, who risked their lives in the conviction that they were defending their country, is completely damnable. And we must admit that, as recent events have shown, their belief was not completely groundless because forces hostile to the Romanian people, who pursued and continue to pursue other goals, were at work from the very beginning and continue to be active.

Another factor of instability and confusion exploited by those intent of destabilizing the Army is the ambiguity and lack of resolution shown at a certain point by the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense, which did not act appropriately to clarify the role of the Army in the Revolution, to defend its basic interests and its cohesion, and to curb the harassment to which the Army is being subjected by the former repressive bodies, distabilizing reactionary circles, and some of the press.

Those interested in destabilization also exploited the following facts, which generated discontent among the Army: the reactivation and promotion of certain reserve generals and officers; the unjustified promotion in rank of certain cadres; patent examples of favoritism; lack of sensitivity to some justified demands by troops and evading discussions with them; lack of understanding and realism on the part of certain categories of military men concerning the feasibility of rapidly resolving major problems concerning soldiers' training and living conditions; the hasty initiation of a process of restructuring the Army, without appropriate theoretical, material, and financial preparations.

In view of this situation and in view of the opening to dialogue promoted by the appeal of the new minister of national defense, we believe it is opportune that the following major issues should be examined and discussed among commands and units, as we believe that they may help halt the process of deterioration of the Army's capacity for united command and action:

1) The initiation by the governmental commission of a detailed and unbiased investigation to establish the objective truth concerning the manner, causes, and circumstances in which military men, regardless of rank or position, fulfilled missions legally tasked by the competent bodies both before and after 22 December 1989; responsibilities should then be assigned only in keeping with these findings.

We believe that currently that is the only way to restore the Army's faith in the justice of the cause that it serves and in the credibility of its commanders.

Proceeding from the premise that the troops who in December acted in various circumstances were on oath to fulfill certain missions and were convinced that they were defending their country and people against foreign aggression and terrorist actions unleashed by the aggressors, and that, as soon as they grasped that the events were part of a popular uprising they unhesitatingly joined the Revolution, actively participating in its victory, we believe that it is not just that the troops who were against their will involved in some tragic incidents should be made accountable as enemies of the people. We cannot now declare a minister a hero and some of his subordinates, from soldiers to generals, who carried out his orders, as criminals.

We do not thereby wish to defend those who—if they exist—consciously acted, at their own or other people's initiative against the interests of the people and the Army, thus harming the honor and dignity of the Romanian people.

However, we do want to make it clear that the troops who were implicated in various incidents caused by other persons were misguided; the onlyinformation they had and were able to receive led them to believe that those who attacked them and forced them to react were terrorists.

We want to report that according to our investigations, a possible sentencing of the troops who acted in those circumstances may have the following serious consequences for the Army: a general incapacitation to further command the troops under them because of the men's lack of faith in their commanding officers and the justice of their orders, the ultimate risk being that orders will not longer be carried out at any level; lack of faith in the laws of the country, in the justice of the military oath taken before the people and in the need to comply with it; a tendency to delay fulfilling any kind of combat missions, expecting all kinds of confirmations and permissions, the risk being that the Army may become paralyzed by inaction, especially in the initial phase of a war when, objectively speaking, things may not be entirely clear; having troops leave their garrisons or desert en masse when tasked with ensuring public order, in the knowledge that punishment for such actions is more lenient than for complicity in genocide or aggravated manslaughter, of which they may be accused; and the fact that young men may not show up for conscription for the same reasons.

2) We believe that the Army should no longer be used to guard civilian targets and to ensure public order, those being the exclusive duties of the police. However, if the current situation further requires that the Army be used to defend the Revolution, the law should specifically stipulate the missions of the Army in such situations, as well as the fact that the military are not responsible for actions carried out in the exercise of their duties and in accordance with the law for defending the state and legal order.

3) The Ministry of National Defense should draft and publish a detailed official communique to clarify to the public the role played by the Army during the Revolution and to make the Romanian people understand that the Army as a whole is not guilty of crimes against the people and that it was not responsible for the incidents that occurred, and consequently that there is no justification for punishing military cadres. The only ones to blame for what happened are those who gave orders and permission for the Army to be used for purposes contrary to the interests of the people, namely the dictatorial couple and their accolites, i.e., those who had a choice and could have been for or against. The only right that the military had was to carry out orders or be executed, and they assumed the supreme risk at the most sensitive moment of the Revolution, thus decisively tilting the balance in favor of the people's victory.

4) To rapidly eliminate the general discontent created by certain reactivations and promotions in job and grade performed in the Army after 22 December 1989, we believe that the following measures should be taken:

—The cadres who were promoted in rank for carrying out legal orders on 23 August 1989 and were frustrated of that right by the dictator, should unconditionally benefit from their promotion;
—The cadres who were reactivated after 22 December 1989 should be retired as soon as possible as their services become unnecessary;
—The situation of cadres who were promoted for "exceptional performance" should be examined individually in accordance with their real contribution to the Revolution and the manner in which they fulfilled their duties before and after the events; in cases in which criteria of professional and moral competence were violated and working collectives have justified complaints, steps should be taken in accordance with the law.

5) Issues concerning the restructuring of the Army should be prepared and carried out in broad consultation with all the military departments, and should be settled only after thorough, future-oriented theoretical substantiation and should be implemented gradually, in keeping with available material and financial resources, thus avoiding anarchy and taking into account all the problems concerning the operational capability, training and living conditions, and the social needs of the troops and their families.

We want to assure the entire nation of our complete loyalty and of the fact that we fully understand our responsibilities; we guarantee that we are ready to use our entire professional and moral competence to fulfill any mission required to defend Romania's territorial integrity and the freedom, democracy, quiet, and peaceful work of the Romanian people.

The Action Committee for Military Stability

* Opposition Parties on Strikes, Inflation

90BA0022A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 22 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Report on interviews with officials of the Republican Party and the Romanian Socialist Democratic Party by unidentified reporters; place and date not given]

[Text] Recently, many categories of wage earners have been intensifying claims which, in view of the current situation of the production and the transition to a market economy, are causing justified concern about the possible creation of galloping inflation. Along this line, we wanted to find out the views of some political groups, to whom we put the following questions:

—What is your view of the claims raised by many categories of wage earners for substantially higher salaries?
—What immediate and long term solutions do you recommend so that people's incomes are not affected by a serious inflationary process?

The Republican Party: Virgil Zamfirescu, member of the Provisional Directorate Party

—The demands are justified, because in the past, aside from the nomenklatura and several other categories of privileged wage earners, no other social category had rights ensuring it a decent material situation.

Even certain advantages that initially existed in some places and which in any case did not match working conditions and skills, were gradually repealed or canceled by an inflationary process masked by various taxes and contributions.

However, we believe that reassessing incomes in an equitable manner, so as to ensure a decent life for all social categories, must necessarily take time.

If an immediate measure were taken now, the ones whose incomes would rise would in fact be placed at a disadvantage, because inflation would get out of control, something that would lead to a continuous race between wages and consumer prices.

—[The following are Zamfirescu's suggestions for immediate and long term solutions so that people's incomes are not affected by serious inflation:]

A) Freezing current prices and salaries until the new economic structures will permit production capable of meeting socioeconomic requirements.
B) Granting state loans on the basis of securities that can be either turned into shares after the privatization of certain enterprises, or be repaid at a good rate of interest.
C) Expanding the sale of housing from the state housing fund.
D) Halting as much as possible the export of products which are in short supply and putting them on the [domestic] market.
E) Encouraging the construction of privately-owned housing and expanding the sale of construction materials, especially in rural areas.
F) Encouraging the development of tourism and other services.
G) Taking out long term foreign loans to import foodstuffs, consumer goods which are in short supply, and raw and other materials needed in particular in the consumer industry.
H) Encouraging the establishment of independent trade unions in enterprises which should monitor employment conditions and observance of workers' rights, in accordance with the international norms of labor legislation.
I) Encouraging individual or group investments in small-scale industry, services, tourism, etc.
J) Experimenting with the organization of public associations with market stocks in various sectors.
K) Diversifying opportunities for attracting cash by revitalizing cultural activities and entertainment.

Romanian Socialist Democratic Party: Vasile Parciulea, deputy chairman

—In view of the fact that one of the distressing legacies of the tyranny was poor remunerations for the great masses of workers, that the conscious evasion of due pay raises by not including employees in the first and second salary grades, that not awarding allowances for difficult working conditions—night shift, or toxicity—and differential payment for holidays and weekends, we believe that the demands raised through legal trade unions are completely and utterly justified. At the same time, we have to emphasize one fact that seems to not have been understood, namely that this or that category of workers is only one small wheel of the social machine, and that one small wheel that turns faster can seriously affect the other wheels (or categories of workers). Democracy means equal rights for all, not the negative impact of some rights, particularly if they're granted under the pressure of certain social and professional groups on others.

Consequently, we think that logically, the entire wage system should be reexamined in keeping with not only trade unions claims but also in relationship to the situation existing in other European countries with democratic experience and traditions.

—Those who have raised major and immediate demands must understand that because, at the moment, it is impossible to provide sufficient consumer and durable goods for the money available, the rather rapid negative effect of the psychological delay in translating "capital" into lucrative investments will be the emergence and rapid increase of inflation.

Another consequence of this fact is that the exaggerated growth of salaries in a certain area will automatically lead to increasing production costs, thus accentuating the existing nonprofitability or even bankruptcy of many units. In turn this will cause personnel to be laid off (thus causing and intensifying unemployment) because nonprofitable units will be closed down or reorganized with fewer work places and a minimum number of personnel required for production, in a bid to halt the phenomenon of unprofitable production.

The solutions we see in the long term are discussions not only with the representatives of a single trade union but with the majority of those having social and professional issues in common, and formulating measures capable of recovering and linking current requirements only in that context [as published].

One of the key factors for making people aware of the value of their own investment is to encourage private and group initiative.

Selling, or utilizing, production means and facilities for private or group use can at first absorb a good portion of the cash that exists in the market and is not covered by [current] production.

Slovene Elections Timetable Outlined

AU0604153290

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 31 March on page 19 carries a 3,000-word article by Jana Taskar under the title "All You Have To Know About the First Postwar Free Elections," explaining the three rounds of elections in Slovenia.

In the first round of elections on 8 April, people will vote in their local communities with four ballot papers:

First, for the president of the Presidency of the republic, chosing among Marko Demsar, Joze Pucnik, Milan Kucan, and Ivan Kramberger. A candidate will be elected if he wins a majority of all the votes cast. Otherwise, the two candidates with the highest number of votes will face a runoff on 22 April.

Second, for four Presidency members to be chosen from among 12 candidates: Ciril Zlobec, Dusan Plut, Matjaz Kmecl, Slavoljub Zizek, Alojz Krizman, Peter Novak, Franc Miklavcic, Ivan Oman, Dimitrij Rupel, Bostjan Zupancic, Bogdan Oblak, and Miroslava Gec-Korosec. The four candidates who win the most votes will be elected.

Third, for 80 seats in the Communal Chamber of the republican Assembly, for which 367 candidates are running in 76 communal single-member constituencies, two constituencies representing the city of Ljubljana and the community of the littoral communes, an Italian constituency in Koper, and a Hungarian constituency in Lendava. The candidate gaining a relative majority in a constituency wins the seat.

Fourth, for 80 seats in the Sociopolitical Chamber of the republican Assembly, for which 900 candidates are running in 16 multi-member constituencies. They will be elected according to the proportional principle.

The second round of elections will be held on 12 April, when delegates will be elected to the Associated Labor Chambers at all levels. Over 2,000 candidates are running for 80 seats in the Associated Labor Chamber of the Republican Assembly, and they will be elected by a relative majority of votes in constituencies according to the branches of economy and social activities.

The third round of elections will be held on 22 April, when the communal assemblies will be elected and a presidential election runoff may be held.

Slovene Presidential Candidates' Discussion

AU0704210090 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1500 GMT 5 Apr 90

[Studio discussion by Marko Demsar, Joze Pucnik, and Milan Kucan, candidates for president of the Presidency of Slovenia, answering questions phoned in by listeners, with an unidentified moderator; place not given—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted on the candidates answering questions about the first practical steps to be taken if they are elected president, and the acrimony of the election campaign; Pucnik answering questions about his family and his short spell in the League of Communists; and a question to Kucan on when he rejected Bolshevism]

[Kucan] Well, now, I am no longer part of the power structure. Comrade or Mr. (Zigon) could have known this because it has been much written about in the newspapers. Am I a Democrat? All that I have stood for may persuade people about this or may not. I do not think it is worthwhile, or necessary, to beat my breast proclaiming that I am a Democrat, or especially that I am a good Democrat, because this would mean that I accept the possibility of not-so-good Democrats existing. Am I a Communist? I have answered this question when asked.

I simply cannot turn a somersault. I am among those Communists who have essentially changed their own party so that they could begin the process of changing society. They did not do this in the interest of the party. They did it in the interest of the Slovene people, as it was written in the manifesto issued at the founding meeting at Cebine: that the Slovene Communists put all their forces in the service of their people. History may judge how they did so. They did not always do what was best.

It is now to be judged whether we, the generation that led this party in the past four years, did well. At least I prefer such people to what you may call converts, who left this League of Communists not when it was dangerous and could entail unpleasant consequences but now, in recent months; those who say in interviews that they were party members for 20 years not out of conviction but because this ensured them a (?good) position. Now they are in leading positions elsewhere, and I do not believe that in eight, six, five, or two months they have become convincing leaders in these other parties.

[Moderator] (?What about) the old party cadres?

[Kucan] The old party cadres are members of this organization. As long as they can identify with the essentially—indeed essentially—changed program, they will remain in the organization. When they judge that the essential identity, or program identity, no longer ties them to the party, they will leave the organization. This is more or less normal now, and entails no consequences. Will they know how, and will we know how, to admit defeat in a sportsmanlike manner? I was very active in sports and I do not consider it very tragic to be defeated even at elections. In the case of defeat, we would simply prepare for new elections.

[Moderator] Do you think that you have thus answered the question put by Ivo Bergant of Litija: When will the graduates of the party schools and the Kumrovec school step down from power and yield their places to younger and more capable cadres?

[Kucan] I do not believe that many graduates of the Kumrovec party school occupy leading positions in the economy. Of course, I could give a specific answer to a specific question.

[Moderator] The following question has no direct connection with the broadcast today, but I will ask it nevertheless. (Ana Matjasic) of Izola asks what you did as a member of the party when Spomenka Hribar was expelled from the party.

[Kucan] At that time I was in Belgrade. I learned about it later. I do not believe that I could have done anything. What is more important is that the present political orientation of the Party of Democratic Renewal has reaffirmed a number of positions that Spomenka Hribar stood for. Therefore, I think that the question of her relationship to the party is no longer posed as the party's attitude toward her but rather as her attitude toward the party. Of course, it is not a matter of (?equal) mutual responsibility but of a mutual interest, and in accordance with the position of principle taken at the congress it would be right to ask her what her attitude to the party is now.

[Moderator] And here is the last of the questions that we have privately marked as not very pleasant, although this one is waggish rather than unpleasant. Drago Besednjak of Sentpeter asks whether capitalism is being restored in our country, and whether Marx and Engels fooled us or we fooled them.

[Kucan] Well, I think that Marx and Engels performed a historical analysis that should not be discarded. However, Marx and Engels lived in different times from us. I think that for the sake of our future it is necessary to desire a Europe that will be capable of rising above the divisions of the 19th and 20th centuries, on the basis of which, so to speak, a civil war has been waged on this continent for more than 200 years. This of course does not mean that one can, or should necessarily, renounce Marxism as a method of historical analysis.

Anyhow, and this is the main point: as long as commodity production remains the necessary production mode, it will probably be necessary to refer back to Marx.

[Moderator] Mr. Demsar, we have no unpleasant questions for you.

[Demsar] I am glad.

[Moderator] [passage omitted] What should be the specific steps for the realization of independent Slovenia?

[Demsar] I would first say that in the opinion of many people, the most autonomous and independent state in Europe is Albania. We do not wish to have autonomy and independence like Albania. I look at the essence that stands behind independence, and the word independence for me does not mean to renounce everybody and all those with whom we have been living, but it does mean to put these relations on an essentially different foundation.

In this context, I see the confederation as one of the perfectly possible forms of further life together because surely at a time when Europe is going toward completely different relations, when borders are losing in importance, Slovenia will not fence itself off with proper borders. I believe that the wave of democracy that started in Slovenia will spread toward the southeast and that we will find competent collocutors in other parts of Yugoslavia, with whom we will be able to talk about our living together in a way different from the present. Above all, the question is what pays for Slovenia and what does not pay.

[Pucnik] Yes, indeed, this is the question: What pays for Slovenia and what does not pay. But I think that one should say what pays and what does not pay. What pays is that Slovenia should stand on its own because it is an economic necessity that it should stand on its own. It will not do to continue in the same way as until now. This is to say that it pays for Slovenia to reduce its payments to the federal state. According to some calculations, these amount to 16 percent or I do not know how much more. Some people even speak about 17 percent.

It pays for Slovenia to regulate its economic legislation by itself so that it may regulate its economic problems in the best way. It pays for Slovenia to see that Slovenes will not serve their military service in alien republics, somewhere in Bitola or anywhere else, but that they serve in Slovenia, and that they are trained in their own language, placed on an equal footing with other European languages. It pays, for instance, that if Slovenia implements its independence, this independence is manifested through the bodies of the Slovene people, through the assembly, or through a referendum if you wish, and not that decisions are made elsewhere, in Belgrade or anywhere else.

And of course, it pays to have a democratic political system in which various political forces may implement their aims with democratic means, and may promote their views in public without censorship and all the like. All this pays.

[Kucan] Well, I would say as a starting point that Yugoslavia as it is at present cannot be our common future, neither for us nor for any other Yugoslav people, because it simply no longer ensures equality, nor the political or economic independence of its peoples. All the peoples, including us, are facing the historic task of redefining anew their interests in life together and of determining the form of this life in accordance with these interests. The form may be that of not living together.

This new definition of these relationships will be based on the natural right of every people to self-determination, including the right to associate and to secede. I think that this is not in dispute. This is the so-called confederal position of Slovenia that enables us—and we admit this right to all others—to made independent and sovereign decisions on our own fate, on how we want to organize our life in our country, under what economic and political relations, and how we want to regulate our relations with others in Yugoslavia and Europe on this basis.

It is significant in which point differences exist. This is the manner of how one is to affirm such a position: in a constitutional way or in an unconstitutional way; and if in a constitutional way, whether in agreement and by arrangement with other peoples of Yugoslavia or by presenting Yugoslavia and the world with an accomplished fact. This last thing, of course, is a great problem, I think.

[Moderator] What if we had to radicalize this way, if one could not negotiate with anybody in Yugoslavia? Or rather, if nobody would even want to listen to the demands coming from Slovenia? To what extent should one run a risk? Or rather: What is the risk and what could be the price?

[Kucan] Well, one should first check whether there really is no readiness for such a new agreement. Of course such an agreement will be more probable after each republic and each people has carried out democratic and free party parliamentary elections that would give legitimacy to democratic political forces in each people, forces that would possess moral and formal legitimacy and would be able to conclude such an agreement on behalf of their peoples or to cancel an existing one.

For me it is clear that if the vital interests of the people are threatened—and it is not disputable in Slovenia now what the vital interests of the people are, they range from the economic up to the cultural and civilizational interests embraced or concentrated in the idea of a European quality of life—then of course (?in my opinion) no price is too high to achieve such a position for Slovenia, but I think that it is necessary to try all other ways first.

[Pucnik] Let me polemically say that the way Mr. Kucan puts all this is very hypothetical. I ask why it has not been checked in the past decades. Why has it not been checked what can be achieved in a legal way? And finally I would conclude—you mentioned the risk—that it is a risk, it has been a risk for some time, to remain in this Yugoslavia and to bear moral and legal responsibility for the shooting of citizens in Kosovo, for instance, and other such things. This is a risk. We Slovenes cannot bear this risk any longer. This is to say that we must act.

We have been checking for a long time, we have been checking for decades, especially the party that you used to lead until recently was checking.

[Kucan] May I reply, because, well, Mr. Pucnik probably does not expect that I will agree with him. His position is based on the assumption that the majority political forces in other peoples chiefly favor shootings in Kosovo and life under undemocratic conditions. My assumption is different. In the past years, we not only checked out but also affirmed positions that made it possible for us to protect our sovereignty. We protected it with the amendments to the Slovene Constitution and we protected it—surely historical memory reaches that far back, because it happened only a few months ago—with the stand by the Slovene Communists at the time when an independent, sovereign position, the right to decide on our own constitution had to be protected. Of course this was important, because at that time we still were the party of power. Now, in the time before the elections, it would not be right to forget all these matters as they developed.

The starting point was that we needed radical changes, but the radical changes should gradually lead to a situation in which we would be able to implement the interests of our people based on our own constitutional system.

[Demsar] The price that I consider too high for anything is the price paid in human life. I think that Europe in its political civilization and culture has moved away from the thirties and forties and that we must follow in this respect. I share the opinion, or I might say actually partly share the opinion, of both who spoke before me. I am convinced that the situation in Yugoslavia will change.

Who ever thought of such a development of the political map in Europe two years ago? Even now, we cannot predict where this will stop in Yugoslavia. I am convinced that the Assembly must clearly draw the line up to which we will enter into agreements, and where the agreements stop and analyses begin to prepare for a different solution.

[Moderator] So you believe that the price of human life should not be paid. If I have correctly read some of Dr. Pucnik's election statements, he believes the same. Do you really believe that the price will be so high?

[Pucnik] No, I do not.

[Moderator] [passage omitted] I am interested in your opinion about secession: Is it possible? Is it an illusion? Or is it adventurism?

[Pucnik] I think it is a possibility, and perhaps even a necessity. If you wish, I advocate the opinion that we must begin to negotiate again, as an equal partner, about the position of Slovenia in Yugoslavia. Somehow the expression for this, the name for these demands is confederation. We began to advance the notion of a confederation in NOVA REVIJA about three years ago. The League of Communists somehow accepted this perhaps two, three, or four months ago.

The point is that we have no other solution. We must implement our basic right to an independent state, and at the same time offer possibilities for continuing with other peoples in Yugoslavia those ties that have a realistic basis, that have not been imposed, and that have not been introduced by ideology into the economy and cultural life. We must base ourselves on where the realistic relations have arisen among these peoples. These must be developed and strengthened.

As regards secession: If these peoples or rather their leaderships have no understanding for our Slovene demands, there will be no course left to us but to take this step. It is better to take this step than to wait several decades again and to check it out somehow when Yugoslavia becomes a state ruled by law. I think that this is the same striving as we now see quite definitely in Croatia. For this reason, and for other reasons, the position here in Slovenia is different from Lithuania. This means that one must put an end to these artificial, ideological ties on the basis of brotherhood and unity, and so forth, which have been shown to be their opposite and an illusion.

[Kucan] Why secession? For me, this is the question: How has this idea arisen, how has it grown, and why does it continue to grow? The reason is Yugoslavia such as it is. This Yugoslavia is far from ideal and far from the essence of the Slovene idea. We have tried to change this relationship of political forces that gives rise to such a Yugoslavia. It has not worked. Therefore, our positions have become more radical, too, but we have not dropped the hope that it is possible to change this relationship of political forces, which is already changing.

Right now, all the efforts that we have invested in the democratization of Slovenia and Yugoslavia are bearing fruit, and now it seems to be somehow a capitulating attitude to turn one's back on this Yugoslavia, on the sober and democratic forces in all the peoples, and abandon them somehow to their fate.

The question for me, of course, is whether Yugoslavia is possible as a realistic community of interest, not an ideological community, as a community that is not linked by defense interests but by realistic interests of a life in common and of a successful joining of the common European economic, cultural, and civilizational sphere.

Secession as an extreme and ultimate possibility should be implemented in a way that would take into consideration the situation in Slovenia and the opinion of the majority of the Slovenes, the situation in Yugoslavia, what this would mean for other parts of Yugoslavia, and the international circumstances, if you like, or the international situation in Europe and in the world, which does not favor such acts.

Therefore, we should have many reasons, and I think that we would have them if we were forced into such a step.

[Demsar] Secession must be regarded under the aspect of time. I think that to speak about it now, to use your terms or your collocation, is possible adventurism. What is the use if we proclaim independence, but we have not created the conditions under which we command the tanks on our own land, and somebody else sends the tanks to our land?

I agree with Mr. Pucnik that we need such a basic right and that we want to apply it in an independent state. However, I wish to reach it and apply it by a different road. I am deeply convinced that the situation will nevertheless cool down somewhat after the elections and that sober analyses will prevail, particularly because I see that political clocks are now running much faster than decades ago, because things happened in Europe in the last year that never changed in decades.

I certainly believe that brotherhood and unity is not a linking factor but a mirage that is now seen only by politicians desirous of power.

[Pucnik] I would like to say the following: It is clear that we must seek only a democratic road to it. This means affirming our Slovene Constitution in a democratic way, with elections or with a referendum. I think that there is no doubt about this. There is no other way. This is one thing.

Another thing: I must refer polemically to some statements made by Mr. Kucan, because he again somehow distorted this matter, as if this democratic way would be the way of adventurism, a capitulating attitude, turning one's back, abandoning the peoples to their fate, abandoning the Yugoslav peoples to their fate.

I think that we Slovenes must be aware that we are Slovenes. As political forces here, we must stand by Slovene interests. Our task is that we do not abandon the Slovenes in a capitulating attitude to other interests, the interests of Belgrade, not to speak of earlier times when the interests were Moscow's world interests. This means that our task, as politicians, is to consider, above all, the primary Slovene interests. The second requirement is to use only democratic methods in implementing our own sovereignty. I think that nobody must call this a capitulating attitude or leaving others in the lurch.

We must not play at missionaries. We have so many of our own problems to deal with that we do not know how we will solve them. Let us therefore tackle them, and let us leave the world, including the nonaligned countries, to their own interests. We try to cooperate with them, but let us not entertain these megalomaniac ambitions about leading half of the world. Therefore: Slovenia, this is our problem.

[Kucan] Well, if I can say a couple of sentences. Yes, there is a difference, and it is an essential difference. Mr. Pucnik simply does not see any chance for Slovenes living in Yugoslavia in any way, while I do see one. I am not an adherent of those who are in favor of any Yugoslavia whatever. I have said this clearly enough, and at a rather early stage. I have had many difficulties in this Yugoslavia, all these (?50) years. But of course I also am not an adherent of those who completely write off Yugoslavia as a possibility in principle. [passage omitted on what candidates think that a confederation should have in common]

[Moderator] A direct question for Mr. Pucnik: Tone Margoc, of Slovenska Bistrica, says: Could Mr. Pucnik explain what could be, or will be, the negative economic consequences of a rapid secession for Slovenia? [passage omitted]

[Pucnik] Well, yes, in case there is no agreement about a transition in the form of a confederal treaty, we must reckon on some attempts at economic blockade. We have been experiencing it for some months in this federation, and probably will have to take this into account then.

However, one thing must be considered in these calculations, also regarding aluminum, electric power, and so forth. We are not getting anything for nothing, we are paying for everything. If the prices we pay are below the economic prices or below the world prices, we must pay for them again through our payments into the underdevelopment fund and various other common requirements of the federation, including the obligatory reserves at the National Bank.

This means that the calculations of how much better off we Slovenes are in Yugoslavia are only a fiction. We must rely on the market. The market must not be merely Yugoslav; we have learned that much. The market must be at least European. In the European market, these problems can be solved on a market basis.

After all, Croatia will surely not boycott us. Surely Bosnia will not boycott us. Serbia has been boycotting us. I see no great problems here, but I see some difficulties. [passage omitted on what the candidates think about how people from other republics would be treated]

[Moderator] [passage omitted] How to defend Slovene independence and autonomy? So this is a question on the state bodies of coercion. [passage omitted]

[Kucan] If I may say something, I would say that this is a matter of two aspects of the defense of this sovereignty. One is the question of public security, of the police. This appears a minor problem to me, because public security is already within the powers of the republic. State security has some centralized organization, some features of a centralized organization, but of course it is changing when it is going along the path of depoliticization and it is changing into an expert service within the police.

The Army: Of course one of the essential functions of a sovereign state is national defense and the organization of the Army. In case of a confederation, a treaty would regulate this question, too. I think that it should be considered from two aspects:

First, whether it is possible to reform or renew the original idea of the all-people's defense, and how this can be done. [passage omitted]

Second, a process is under way in Europe and in the world. It is a process that will have to present an answer to whether it will still be possible to speak about a bloc confrontation, and the danger of blocs endangering peace, or whether Europe will indeed become a demilitarized zone. In this respect, the question of the Army, its quality, its size, and its concept is posed in an essentially different way. I would therefore prefer to think about the arguments that speak in favor of a demilitarization of Yugoslavia or future Slovenia.

[Demsar] I also hope that Slovenia would not need to defend its independence with an army. [passage omitted] The final aim must be a demilitarization of Slovenia.

[Pucnik] I essentially agree with this. I think that the question of security should now be put in a different way than at the beginning of this century, in the first half of the century, or in the previous century. Security is now rather a question of linking into systems; it is collective security. Individual security is hardly possible. [passage omitted] I also agree that one should think about a demilitarized region in Europe in the medium term. The whys and wherefores will not depend on Slovenia alone, but we may perhaps make some suggestions.

[Moderator] [passage omitted] Two questions refer to today's visit of Kadijevic—he is our defense minister, of course—to Slovenia immediately before the elections. [passage omitted]

[Demsar] I think that this is a sign that we have not yet reached any depoliticization of the Army. The Army minister should not indulge in such a demonstration a few days before the elections in Slovenia. Despite all the other reasons, I think this is a demonstration of power and exerts direct pressure on Slovenia.

[Pucnik] I would also say that some political intentions are tied in with this visit. I do not know about the actual object of this visit. There has been no report regarding this. Perhaps Mr. Kucan could say something about this from his sources.

I think that this action is tactless at the very least and shows a lack of political feeling, and I even think that it also indicates to some extent in what kind of state we live and have lived when such a thing is possible and a minister can afford it.

[Moderator] It is a third visit in the sequence: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, is it not? [passage omitted]

[Kucan] Well, this morning I read with interest the statement by the press spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, the passage that says that the visit is taking place although the Presidency of the Slovene state did not desire any talks with the federal secretary.

As I was on my way from Celje, I listened to the news at 1530 [1330 GMT] and heard Ciril Ribicic's statement in this connection. You said that this is one of those actions, among many others, that indicates a lack of political feeling. I would say that the way it is carried out it is an undemocratic action, without going into its intentions. I would not ascribe too much significance to it, but it is sufficiently eloquent in itself.

The tank obstacles on the other side of the Alps [in Austria], I think, have no connection with this, but are to be connected with the primeval fear that still exists there from the Slovenes and the danger from the south. The Austrians will have to deal with their primeval fear themselves. [passage omitted on Pucnik answering a question on Slovene boys serving in the Army in other republics: they should return as soon as possible]

[Moderator] [passage omitted] In which way can one protect people from the danger of a politically motivated interference by police or secret police in their life? This also is one of powers of the Presidency.

[Pucnik] I think that the existing State Security Service, or political police or whatever it may be, has been burdened so much in the past with various unclarified cases of interference with citizens's rights that I think this service should be—to put it briefly—dissolved, although of course this harbors some specific problems. Above all, this service is unacceptable for us, for independent Slovenia, because it still gets its instructions from outside, from beyond the Slovene borders, from Belgrade. [passage omitted]

I also wonder that when the League of Communists left the congress and the federal organization, it did not follow up with appropriate proposals in legislative bodies for appropriate measures, so that changes could be made in these bodies, too. These bodies are a pure duplication of this party organization that was centralist and spread to all Yugoslavia. [passage omitted] This service must be build anew, if it is necessary at all, and I doubt it is necessary. [passage omitted]

[Kucan] [passage omitted] The State Security Service—I am talking about Slovenia—has essentially changed during the democratization process. As far as I knew, as long as I was a member of the Presidency of the Slovene state, a proposal was prepared for its full transformation and its inclusion in the police as an expert branch, which in one form or another is known in every civilized and democratic country. However, no country has a system that by itself would prevent abuses in violating and restricting human rights. The question is whether the system is such that it ensures an effective control over the work of the police. [passage omitted]

[Pucnik] I would nevertheless have to remark that precisely at the time when you were Slovene Assembly president laws were adopted about a secret Official Gazette, and about the various powers of the security bodies in Slovenia. I do not know whether this is true, but one hears about it. Probably you know better. But this is the basis for the danger that may arise from State Security bodies unless they are integrated with public security forces. [passage omitted]

[Kucan] May I say a couple of sentences? Of course, State Security was historically founded as the movement's State Security, as the Security Information Service [Varnostna Obvescevalna Sluzba]—I am talking about Slovenia. Of course it retained many elements of (?what we call a) party state. Many things have changed, of course. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] [passage omitted] (?Youths) of Trbovlje ask what you think about the growing unemployment, low pensions, and insolvencies in the economy? It is especially mentioned that Mr. Pucnik predicts that unemployment will treble. Who will speak first? Perhaps Mr. Pucnik because he is mentioned.

[Pucnik] My name has been mentioned. It is an open question whether it will treble. In any case, we must expect an essential increase in unemployment. Many enterprises in our country are in a crisis, and there will be many that one will not be able to save. I think that all the analyses so far have shown this. What is important now is to implement one principle: The economy must be merely the economy. The task of social care must be taken over by some other body of society, some other sphere of society. This means that the economy must develop according to economic principles, and the social welfare tasks must be performed by society through other institutions.

Now then, considering that jobs will be lost in many enterprises, the basic problem is how to accelerate the creation of new jobs in other spheres, which I may call economically justified. Probably in one respect this probably concerns the legalization of the so-called gray economy. Some say that this amounts to 30 percent of the national income, and if it could in some way be legalized and become, so to speak, a part of our economy, all the appropriate taxes would flow from it. At present it only means secondary employment for many people who officially are employed somewhere else.

And another thing: Through the development of handicrafts, we will certainly be able to compensate for part of the jobs lost, but not all. We calculate that unemployment will increase for at least a year and a half. Some people indeed say that it will double, and some fear that it will even treble. However, nobody knows this precisely because it depends on the economic situation in the several enterprises that are under a question mark or face liquidation.

[Demsar] I understand that the common denominator of this question, which reaches from pensions to jobs, is in fact social policy, or rather all the possible new forms of social uncertainty. If we enter a market economy system, I think that this market economy must shed any welfare functions and that social policy must be drawn together, I will say operationalized, in a ministry of social welfare, which should then link the fields of labor, of employment, of family, of social security, of health, and perhaps even the education system. In brief, this should be something that will see that social security will not be jeopardized and that Slovenes will not lose their footing in this respect.

[Kucan] I would divide this question into two parts: How to ensure conditions for new employment, and how to take care of those who will remain jobless in the process of adjustment of our economy to the market conditions. Mr. Pucnik is right. I think that one should have no illusions here, as unpleasant as it may be. According to estimates, about one-quarter, and some say even one-third of the workers employed in Slovene industry will be redundant in a modern entrepreneurial form of the economy.

The question of course, which I ask myself, is how ensure that nobody who wants to work will be left in the street, as one colloquially says. One should do this by transferring the stress of the social policy from the enterprise to society, or if you wish, the state; by changing jobs and retraining; by the opportunity to buy extra years to count toward a pension for those who are not far from retirement, in a way that will ensure a decent pension and decent life; by redundancy pay and assistance that would make possible an activation of the creative abilities and entrepreneurial initiative of individuals through so-called self-employment, which of course demands an essential change in the regulations that at present not only fail to stimulate this but in fact hamper and prevent it. [passage omitted]

Slovene Presidential Candidates Profiled

LD0604231690 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1015 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 6 (TANJUG)—In the Slovenian two-week battle for votes, the first day—April 8th—might be the most interesting if one of the four candidates for the office of president of this northwestern Yugoslav republic wins on that first day 50 percent plus one votes of those who come to the polls, of the 1,480,000 Slovenians of voting age.

The four presidential candidates in Slovenia, the first Yugoslav republic to set off along the rapids of a multiparty system in postwar Yugoslavia, are an unusual foursome. One is a reformist-communist, one a political dissident and former refugee, one a prominent physician, and one a long-haired skillful popular author and orator.

The candidate of the Communist Party which was transformed into the Democratic Reform Party (ZKS-SDF), and the Socialist Alliance-Alliance of Socialists, is Milan Kucan, 49, the youngest candidate and for a long time the most popular Slovenian politician.

A communist activist in his youth, and now a reformer and the creator of the current, largely social-democratic program, is considered also one of the biggest advocates of the so-called "Slovenian Spring". According to the latest public opinion polls, Kucan, a lawyer by profession, is twice as popular as his rivals since 46.6 percent of the polled citizens opted for him.

The candidate second-most popular to Kucan is Dr. Joze Pucnik, 58, president of the Social-Democratic Alliance of Slovenia (SDZS) and leader of the opposition bloc demos (Democratic Opposition of Slovenia). Pucnik used to be a member of the Communist Party, and in the late 50's he spent seven years in jail for criticizing the social situation. He ended his professional career as a university professor of politicology at the university in the West German town Lueneburg.

In his election program, Dr Pucnik points up that a confederative Yugoslavia is just a phase of transition on Slovenia's toad to independent statehood. The latest polls show that Pucnik has 11.9 percent of the votes in Slovenia.

The third member of the foursome is Dr. Marko Demsar, 54, candidate of the Liberal Party, formerly the Youth Organization of Slovenia, and a charismatic intellectual. Demsar is a prominent Ljubljana physician and president of the Society of Slovenian Physicians, and he has not joined any party since he left the League of Communists of Slovenia in 1982.

Demsar does not have a large program and believes that his republic needs intellectual leadership and rational spending. He currently enjoys only four percent of the votes.

Finally, the independent candidate is Ivan Kramberger, 54. Poor and illiterate at first, he went on to become a medical technician, an innovator, he worked in the Federal Republic of Germany for a time, and he finally took to writing. Krambergev publishes and sells how own books in large editions.

On the election scene, Kramberger breaks down all political stereotypes and offers Slovenians "liberation" from the Communist misconceptions of the past. He is for an independent Slovenia, a sound economy, and respect for the will of the people, and has so far attracted five to six percent of the voters.

Since 16 percent of the voters are undecided, perhaps the new Slovenian president will be known only after the second round of voting on April 22, when Slovenians will choose one of the two candidates who get the most voters on Sunday.

Radio Reviews Preelection Mood in Slovenia

AU0804181990 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Report by correspondent Dragan Stavljanin from the "Sunday at 10" program in Ljubljana]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] This morning elections began in Slovenia. We now have a report from my colleague Dragan Stavljanin on the atmosphere in the capital city, Ljubljana, and everything else that has been happening in our most northerly republic:

[Passage omitted] [Stavljanin] Making their last public appearance on Ljubljana Television on 6 April, all four candidates for president of Slovenia tried to look relaxed and optimistic by drinking a toast to one another. Who will, however, be the one to drink the winner's toast after the elections is yet to be seen. Perhaps nobody, since the one who wins will not be in a celebratory mood because, instead of laurels, he will get a hot potato in the form of an aggressive opposition that will not have any understanding for the problems of the ruling team about how to solve economic and political problems, as well as those concerning relations with other parts of the country.

This morning the citizens of Slovenia did not go to the polling stations too early, probably because they want to leave themselves as much time as possible to make their mind up as to whom to vote for. However, a mass turnover is expected, not because the citizens have recognized their concrete interests in the programs of various parties, but because they are aware of the fact that if they are to walk normally tomorrow, they need to take at least one step today.

The people say that the rain that has mercilessly been coming down in Slovenia for several days is a bad sign. However, one can no longer expect blessings from the sky and from others. After all, rain could mean getting rid of the dirt of all those things that have not been good so far.

As regards dilemmas, before, during, and after the election campaign there was so much animosity and disrespect for fair play that they cannot only be explained with the need to gain the electorate's points. This is a matter of more profound differences, especially between the bloc led by the Slovene Communists on one side, and the united coalition Demos on the other side. In other words, they are the differences that exist between the left and right wings, or to be even more precise, between communism and anticommunism.

Playing on the card of disappointment, and even anger of the people with the Communists for everything that has happened in the past, Demos was skillfully spreading the anticommunist mood. Aware of this fact, the Communists were playing the card of adherence to principles. They were promoting their program, according to which they are something completely different from the former Communists and are therefore not responsible for what had happened before. On the contrary, they think that this generation should be paid credit for initiating and enabling radical changes.

That the use of Machiavellian means in politics, according to which the end justifies the means, can act as a boomerang has been proved again. This is the case of the already famous Demos' poster showing Ciril Ribicic and Milan Kucan next to Stalin, Ceausescu, and others, while Joze Pucnik, leader of Demos and the Social-Democratic Party and candidate for the president of Slovenia, appears next to Brandt, Craxi, and other social-democratic champions. As we have unofficially learned, the representatives of the Socialist Party of Italy and the Social-Democratic Party of the FRG have sharply protested. The Germans say that Mr. Pucnik has yet to show himself as a social democrat while Mr. Ribicic has already been on that road for one year.

During the preelection campaign, politics as a profession and fate demonstrated all its miseries and splendor. It also demonstrated that in addition to blessings, democracy can also cause stress, especially among those who do not know how to appraise their place in politics as a profession.

The listeners of Radio Ljubljana must have been in some dilemma—especially those who turned on their sets later—as to whether they were listening to a radio play in which the plot was taking place in a bar or the official public appearance by the candidates for president of Slovenia. The Demos' candidate, eccentric Dimitrije Rupel, said that one U.S. paper published a map of Yugoslavia without Slovenia. Left-wing candidate Borstjan Zupancic replied that this was a paper financed by the Central Intelligence Agency and that it can only be read by those who receive their subscriptions through the CIA. Rupel replied that he is fed up with allegations that he was cooperating with the CIA. Zupancic said that this was confirmed to him by a U.S. diplomat. At the end, after a few more arguments in which Zupancic sounded more convincing, the colleagues from Radio Ljubljana told me that, although otherwise self-assured, Rupel lost his calm to the extent that he forgot to take his coat with him. [passage omitted]

74 Percent of Slovene Voters Go to Polls

LD0804204790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1927 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 8 April (TANJUG)—According to the Republican Election Commission's figures, over 1.1 million voters, out of a total of 1.48 million voters in Slovenia, cast their votes in election booths by 1700. This accounts for 74 percent of the electorate, according to Republican Election Commission Secretary Marko Golobic.

Although, according to the electoral legislation of Slovenia, polling booths should have been closed by 1900, some are still open. It was decided that polling booths in those places where voters were still in line outside should remain open until voters have fulfilled their civic duty. [passage omitted]

Pucnik Expects Runoff

LD0804224690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2148 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 8 April (TANJUG)—The first election results election for the office of the Slovene Presidency president show that everything has been developing according to expectations. It is obvious that the decision on the president will be between Milan Kucan [candidate for the League of Slovene Communists-Party of Democratic Renewal] and myself [Dr. Pucnik, candidate for the Demos United Opposition] in the second round, and there is no doubt that in the end I will win. This was stated by Dr. Joze Pucnik, candidate of the Demos United Opposition, when at about 2330 he visited the press center in Cankar Hall. Dr. Pucnik also made the assessment that by and large the elections were conducted in an honest way.

Kramberger on Voting

LD0804225390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2154 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 8 April (TANJUG)—If I am not successful in the election, I will still remain in politics, in the People's Party, but I will certainly win in the second round, when the choice will be between Kucan and myself. This was the first statement by Ivan Kramberger, a candidate for the office of the Slovene Presidency president, after the first incomplete results were released. Asked what he thought of the election, Kramberger said that we are still learning and also that in his view the elections have not been conducted in an honest way. Allegedly he received phone calls saying that in some areas electoral lists had been copied and there had been some funny business with the stamp seals.

Kucan Leading in Election

LD0904083490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0305 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 9 Apr (TANJUG)—It is highly likely that the Republic of Slovenia will embark on a second electoral round, as none of the presidential candidates has won the required majority of votes, at least if over half the votes counted so far is anything to go by.

Milan Kucan, the candidate of the Slovene League of Communists [LC]-Party of Democratic Renewal and the Slovene Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] is still convincingly in the lead with 44.2 percent of the votes, albeit lacking the absolute majority of over 50 percent. Far behind is the Demos candidate, Joze Pucnik, who won only 25.8 percent. Independent candidate Ivan Kramberger holds third position with 19.3 percent, followed by Marko Demsar, the candidate of the Liberal Party [former Slovene Socialist Youth Organization], with 10.7 percent.

The list of candidates for Presidency members of the Republic of Slovenia is being led by Ciril Zlobec, the SAWP candidate, with 43.5 percent of the votes. He is followed by Ivan Oman, the Slovene Peasants' Alliance candidate, 39.3 percent; Dusan Plut, the Slovene Greens candidate, 32.2 percent; and Matjaz Plut, the candidate of the Slovene LC-Party of Democratic Renewal, 30.9 percent.

The second round of elections for Republic of Slovenia president will be held in two weeks' time on 22 April.

Kucan Holds on to Lead

LD0904092790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0847 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 9 Apr (TANJUG)—Now after 1,064,842 ballots have been counted, out of the 1,107,054 votes cast, Milan Kucan is the leading presidential candidate among the four for whom the citizens of Slovenia voted in the first free, direct, and secret elections. He has 44.3 percent of the vote. He is followed by the Demos united coalition candidate, Joze Pucnik, with 26.3 percent; independent candidate Ivan Kramberger, with 18.9 percent; and Marko Demsar, the champion of the Liberals, with 10.5 percent.

95 Percent Counted

AU0904135790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Dragan Stavljanin report from Ljubljana]

[Text] Out of the 95 percent of the votes that have been counted, Milan Kucan has received 44 percent; Joze Pucnik, 26 percent; independent candidate Ivan Kramberger, 18 percent; and Liberals representative Marko Demsar, 10 percent. Ciril Zlobec, Ivan Oman, Matjaz Kmecl, and Dusan Plut are leading the list of candidates for Presidency members of Slovenia. The results of the voting for the Sociopolitical Chamber will be known in several days time.

Most of the focus has been on the separate news conferences given by all four presidential candidates. Demos leader Joze Pucnik stressed that if he goes on to the second round of voting, as expected, he will not change his arguments in the next stage of the electoral campaign, particularly as he should explain more clearly how his bloc will divest itself of the revanchist label. If he wins at the elections, he will involve himself in carrying through political and economic changes, and he did not fail to stress that the condition for this is the complete independence of Slovenia. This is not automatically the same as secession.

Milan Kucan began all the speeches with the announcement that he is feeling much better today than yesterday, probably because he has received the most votes. Assessing the elections, Kucan stressed that they show that Slovenia is a country of people with a European and democratic consciousness. In the second round of the elections, he will explain in more detail his stand on a peaceful transition to democracy and on a law-governed social state in which the people will make sovereign decisions on life with other Yugoslav peoples and peoples of Europe.

Speaking about a possible coalition, Kucan stressed that great differences, as well as similarities, exist between the parties. The differences were emphasized before the elections, but afterward we will have to find points of contact.

The participation in the presidential elections of Ivan Kramberger, a man who almost entertained those present with his stage performance—which was no obstacle to him winning almost a fifth of the votes—should be interpreted as part of a specific political image although his performance should be seen in a more serious light. As Milan Kucan said, the votes for Kramberger showed that the electorate wants the president to be a man of the people who is sensitive to their needs and problems. Being in the field of high-level politics, Kucan said, Pucnik and I sometimes do not have enough feeling for this.

Drnovsek Says Slovenia Secession Not 'Logical'

LD0804165190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1502 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 8 April (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek visited the press center in Cankar Hall this afternoon, where over 150 journalists from 71 foreign newspapers and radio and television stations, and about 100 journalists from the Yugoslav media, are reporting about the elections in Slovenia.

Asked by journalists, both foreign and Yugoslav, about his opinion on the elections in Slovenia, Janez Drnovsek said they represent a sign of advancing and unstoppable democratization. Drnovsek said multiparty elections will soon reach the other republics, too. Within the next six months, such elections will also be carried out for the federal parliament.

Answering several questions as to whether he thought Slovenia would secede from Yugoslavia after these elections, Drnovsek said that he, in his capacity as state president, did not want to comment on this issue. His impression, however, is that the demand for secession does not appear to be too logical at a time when the whole of Europe is liaising and we are talking about an European Confederation.

Drnovsek stressed that as early as February the SFRY Presidency stated unambiguously its preference in the Federal Assembly for a multiparty system. In doing so, we filled the existing vacuum, particularly in the formal institutional system, since it is a well-known fact that our Constitution is designed for the old system, although in practice things have moved farther away so we tried by our words and stances to create conditions for the transition to the new.

Slovenia Free Trade Unions Hold Congress

LD0804101790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Ljubljana, Apr 7 (TANJUG)—The first congress of the free trade unions of Yugoslavia's republic Slovenia marks the final breach between the trade unions on one hand and the state and the "structures of authorities" on the other, it was noted at the close of this congress here today.

The new trade unions would be a supra-party and vocational organization to fight for workers' interests.

At its close, the congress adopted a number of program documents and the statute, and elected new leadership.

In a special declaration, the free trade unions demanded much greater rights for T.U. activists in enterprises, a more favorable position of the workers relative to the employers and a 40-hour (instead of 42-hour) working week.

[Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1330 GMT on 7 April adds: "Miha Ravnik was elected president and Rasko Lesjak secretary at the end of the first congress."]

'Frivolous Assessments' of Poisoning Noted

AU0604112390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Apr 90 p 4

[R. Barjaktarevic report: "Frivolous About the Poisoning"]

[Text] Pristina—The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, headed by Ibrahim Rugova, assesses the reorganization of the internal affairs and state security forces in Kosovo and the beginning of the revival of the law-governed state in this province as "the imposition of a special kind of state of emergency onto the existing state of emergency," and as a case of "the republic grabbing the remains of Kosovo autonomy in order to hinder in advance and prevent the expression of any undesirable political will in the province."

At a 1 April news conference in Pristina, Ibrahim Rugova did not want to reply to a question concerning the present position of alternative parties and movements in Kosovo. He said: "We have many hindrances and obstacles. It seems that the League of Communists is still quite strong or acts secretly."

As on previous occasions, journalists were handed statements. This time they concerned the "inexplicable sickness among a large number of mainly young Albanians, neurosis, and various suspicions in this regard." Ali Aliu read the statement by the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo that said, among other things:

"The occurrence of mass illness, poisoning, infections, or whatever—even when one discounts the threatening and probably unavoidable abuses—remains an indisputable, bitter, and tragic fact that is still unexplained and on whose clarification, it unfortunately seems, insufficient effort is being made. The unserious and even frivolous assessments that this involved a false alarm, mass hysteria, fabrications, and pretense with the aim of further destabilizing the situation, as well as a unique special war and so on—even though this occurrence could be abused to this end—seem themselves to be unskillful and tasteless acting. Not only are these assessments unconvincing but they are a hindrance when it comes to explaining the aforementioned phenomenon."

The Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms in Pristina, which is led by Academician Idriz Ajeti and the Association of Women's Conferences within the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo went even further in their claim that "more than 3,000 people from all communities in Kosovo have been poisoned." A letter to Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic, which committee Secretary Zekerija Cana read to journalists, states that "those who were suffering from the illness included certain members of other nationalities." This committee is seeking the "formation of an international independent commission." This request is based on the statement by Dr. Barent Koen, international Helsinki delegation member, according to whom, "at least six weeks is necessary in order to establish the causes of the illness" (which is not true, as shown by the statements by Military Academy of Medicine experts: journalist's remark).

According to the statement by the women's association within the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, headed by Ljuljeta Pulja, "it is strange that respected Military Academy of Medicine professors managed in one week to conclude without a doubt that this did not involve poisoning." In a "letter of protest to the Federal Executive Council," Ljuljeta Pulja says as regards the findings of the senior Yugoslav experts that this did not involve either poisoning or an epidemic:

"We can only say to the authors of these monstrous fabrications that the Albanian people are unfortunately too poor to send 3,000 children to Palestine to learn acting after a similar tragedy that afflicted the Palestine people in 1983."

In contrast to these parties, the Social Democratic Party in Kosovo, headed by Skeljzen Malici, only wants the "illness" to be completely explained and for everyone to be briefed on what this is in fact all about.

Internal Affairs Secretariat Notes Crime Figures

LD0704050290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1059 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Apr (TANJUG)—Last year the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs (SSUP) brought criminal charges against 307 persons (213 in Kosovo) and charges for civil offenses against 1,373 persons (1,240 in Kosovo) for fomenting hatred and divisions, organizing illegal hostile activities, terror, violence, and other illegal acts. This was stated, among other things, in a report on the SSUP performance last year, submitted to the SFRY Assembly.

Secretariat for Internal Affairs forces also brought five criminal charges and 25 for civil offenses against persons who provided intelligence information, and 20 foreigners were expelled from our country. Ten criminal and 11 civil offence charges were brought for links with the extreme emigration [as received] and three foreign citizens were expelled.

Considerable activity was aimed at discovering forged foreign and domestic currency. For instance, at the end of last year a ring was broken through whoch forged 2,000-dinar bank notes were brought into our country, 10,728 bank notes were then seized and five foreign citizens arrested.

The report also makes note of 219 border incidents but states that the downward tendency started in the previous years is continuing and that these incidents were only minor violations of border regulations, committed mainly by residents of border zones.

Due to increasingly numerous acts of hooliganism and nationalist excesses linked with sporting events, the SSUP—in cooperation with the republican and provincial bodies—took special measures within its area of responsibility. However, despite cooperation with the Football Federation of Yugoslavia, these measures failed to yield desired results.

A separate section in the report refers to the commitment of the SSUP in Kosovo following the SFRY Presidency's decision on the introduction of the state of emergency and special security measures. SSUP employees helped Kosovo forces in preventing demonstrations and in establishing public peace and order, as well as in gathering and checking information on initiators and organizers.

The SSUP report will soon be submited to the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber delegates.

Further on Visit by Austria's Vranitzky

AU0504205490 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1600 GMT 5 Apr 90

[Helmut Opletal report from Belgrade]

[Text] Democratization and a satisfactory solution to the Kosovo question are the prerequisites for Yugoslavia's full participation in the European integration processes. Chancellor Vranitzky told this to Yugoslav head of government Ante Markovic today. However, Vranitzky assured the Belgrade government that Austria will continue to build on the unity of the state in its relations with Yugoslavia. Vranitzky said after the talks this afternoon:

[Begin Vranitzky recording] I also proceed on the assumption that it will be our wish to deal with a uniform political territory of Yugoslavia also in the future because we regard this as important and urgent in the interest of Europe's stability. [end recording]

No breakthrough was achieved in the question of the Slovenian nuclear power plant of Krsko, the closing of which Austria has demanded for years. Now experts of the two countries are to discuss the nuclear power plant and general questions of energy production.

Vranitzky also met for an informal round of talks with representatives of more than a dozen newly founded parties and oppositional political movements from all Yugoslav republics in the Austrian Embassy in Belgrade.

After his meeting with Vranitzky, Premier Markovic made an interesting announcement. Before the end of the year, for the first time, elections for a new pan-Yugoslav parliament are to take place under a multiparty system. Croatian reform Communist Markovic hopes for general support for his government's economic reforms.

Vanitzsky Meets Drnovsek

LD0804083790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Apr (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek today received Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky in the White Palace.

In the course of cordial and friendly talks, Yugoslav-Austrian relations and European processes were discussed. Chancellor Vranitzky expressed his high regard for the results so far of the reform in Yugoslavia and his belief that the successful implementation of the reform will provide Yugoslavia with economic and political stability and a new cycle of development, something significant not only for Yugoslavia but also for its neighbors and Europe as a whole.

The chancellor particularly stressed that Austria is interested in Yugoslavia's stability and its unchangeable borders. The top-level guest heralded significantly more developed Austrian-Yugoslav economic, political, and other relations, which have been good so far. In the future, this cooperation will be more and more oriented toward European integrative trends.

In this regard, the chancellor supported Yugoslavia's aspirations to join the European Free Trade Association. In transforming Europe, the situation will occasionally resemble a stormy sea in which Yugoslavia and Austria, with their successful cooperation, should be islands of stability and progress, Chancellor Vranitzky said.

Regional cooperation between Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Italy was also discussed. It was said that this cooperation will represent a successful form of European cooperation without political pretensions. The talks were also attended by federal Foreign Economic Relations Secretary Franc Horvat and Pavle Jevremovic, foreign policy adviser to the SFRY Presidency president.

After the talks, President Drnovsek invited Chancellor Vranitzky and his aides to lunch. Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic was also present.

Relations Issue Viewed

LD0804083190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2010 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 6 (TANJUG)—Relations between Austria and Yugoslavia are excellent and many points the two countries have in common are important for their future cooperation, Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky said today during a meeting with journalists at the close of his visit to Yugoslavia.

Vranitzky stressed that comprehensive reforms in Yugoslavia are followed with great interest in Austria and added that the reforms represent the basis of Yugoslavia's future role in European integrations. Vranitzky stressed that Austria wishes to continue to support Yugoslavia and that, therefore, it upholds the process of political democratization in Yugoslavia.

In relation to an open discussion on Kosovo, Vranitzky said that Austria's positive opinion will depend on the number of positive solutions Yugoslavia achieves there, which is certainly no easy feat.

Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic stressed that the visit of the Austrian chancellor to Yugoslavia has come at the right time, in view of extensive reforms already well under way in Yugoslavia, differing from other countries in East Europe. Markovic added that Yugoslavia and Austria have to establish common interests because of major changes in East Europe and consequences which everybody in Europe will feel. Markovic stressed once again the importance of Austria's support to the Yugoslav reform and Yugoslavia's efforts to become a full member of the European Free Trade Association, EFTA. Yugoslavia has already officially applied for the EFTA membership.

Replying to a question of an Austrian journalist on Kosovo, Markovic stressed that the system currently being developed in Yugoslavia enables every one of its citizens to politically freely express and organize himself. This applies to all parts of the country, including Kosovo. Democratization will be implemented everywhere in Yugoslavia, or there will be no democracy, Markovic underlined.

Markovic said that Yugoslavia and Austria have identical views on the CSCE process and that Yugoslavia upholds Vienna's wish, as the capital of neighbouring, friendly country to host the CSCE summit.

Asked to clarify his statement on supporting Yugoslavia only as an entity, Vranitzky replied that political pluralism being introduced now should be implemented within Yugoslavia and its territories as they are today. Vranitzky said that reform projects in Yugoslavia are viewed in the sense of support to its efforts to preserve the state as a single entity even after the reform, despite the fact that after pending elections in some republics the balance of political forces could be changed.

Vranitzky said that in Belgrade he had an opportunity to talk with representatives of the Yugoslav political opposition whose aim is to make a constructive appearance on the political scene. Vranitzky thinks that this can only contribute to a further development of the state, which certainly indicates future democracy.

As an important element of Yugoslavia's success Vranitzky stressed the support of the International Monetary Fund, IMF, to Yugoslavia, the need to continue the policy of the dinar's convertibility and stop the inflation, with a continual encouragement of foreign investiments.

In the Markovic-Vranitzkiy talks which preceeded the press conference, Markovic expressed the hope that Austria will uphold Belgrade's candidacy for hosting the 1996 Olympic games.

Vranitzsky Concludes Visit

LD0804084190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Apr (TANJUG)—Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky left Belgrade this afternoon after his three-day official visit to Yugoslavia.

During the talks, Chancellor Vranitzky and his host, Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic, devoted much attention to very successful bilateral relations; Yugoslavia's efforts to become a member of the European Free Trade Association, of which Austria is a member; regional cooperation; and changes in Europe.

This was the third meeting between Premier Markovic and Vranitzky since June last year. These meetings, in Markovic's opinion, "go to show the people who had talks and about the nature of the relations between the two countries."

Loncar Visit Not Mentioned in Romanian Press

AU0804183390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Apr 90 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Not a Word About Loncar"]

[Text] Bucharest—The two-day visit that Budimir Loncar paid to Romania, which concluded last night, has been reported briefly and only by radio and television. The press has not carried a single word about the visit that the federal secretary for foreign affairs paid to Bucharest and Timisoara, although the Romanian agency Rompress reported on the visit extensively. For example, it carried a three-page report just on the talks that Loncar had with Foreign Affairs Minister Sergiu Celac.

Such an attitude by the press—it normally does not pay much attention to many countries, including Yugoslavia—results, among other things, from the fact that Romania no longer has an official information system. At present, there are 900 newspapers in the country—both independent and party newspapers—and information is extremely oriented toward placing stress on Western countries and their systems, France in particular, and denying any worth to socialism.

Majek Addreses IPU Session in Nicosia

LD0704033890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1506 GMT 6 Apr 90

["Pool" item]

[Text] Nicosia, April 6 (TANJUG)—The current developments in international relations, which have resulted in the elimination of the world's last colony and the establishment of the independent State of Namibia, gives hope that the world is on the road of progress, security and peaceful coexistence, the head of the Yugoslav delegation, Miran Mejak, said at the 83rd regular session of the Interparliamentary Union (IPU) in Nicosia today.

Positively assessing the renewal of detente, Mejak warned that the world was still faced with problems whose settlement would mean development and progress for all. He said that North-South talks on development were necessary as well as positive results in the settlement of the debt problem, international monetary relations, world trade, transfer of technology, environmental protection and many others for the establishment of more equitable international economic relations.

Mejak expressed Yugoslavia's support to the strengthening of the processes of economic integration in Europe and the creative role of the CSCE as pre-conditions for the elimination of existing differences in Europe and the establishment of free movement of people, ideas, goods and capital.

Mejak said that peace and progress for all could be achieved through cooperation, understanding and tolerance which would contribute to the elimination of hotbeds of crisis and the overocming of economic problems facing many countries.

Drnovsek Greets Council for Namibia

LD0804130890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0632 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Apr (TANJUG)—The special closing session of the UN Council of Namibia, held after the proclamation of Namibia's independence, gives me an oportunity, on behalf of Yugoslavia and in my capacity as the Nonaligned Movement chairman, to extend most cordial greetings for the council's contribution to Namibia's efforts to gain independence, states a message from SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek on the occasion of the special closing meeting of the UN Council for Namibia, which opens in Windheok on 9 April.

Since it was granted its mandate to govern the territory of Namibia by the United Nations in 1967, up to the proclamation of independence, the Council for Namibia launched and organized numerous actions as a contribution to the realization of Namibia's independence.

Today, when thanks to the long-term involvement of UN member countries, as well as the Nonaligned Movement with which the council cooperated extensively, the UN plan on Namibia has been realized, and when freedom and independence became reality for its people, we must pay tribute to the council for its persevering and conscientious work in the protection of Namibia's interest and the creation of conditions for its further development.

The council's contribution is also a victory of the principles for which the United Nations fought since its foundation, as well as a great success and fair example of cooperation within the entire international community. The long-term decolonization process is nearing the end with the independence of the last major colony. At the same time, new positive processes have started in southern Africa, more favorable conditions are being treated, and new prospects are opening up to help this part of of the world become fully involved in modern world democratic trends. We hope that in the near future the people and all the citizens of this part of Africa will be allowed free and unjeopardized development with full respect of all human rights and needs.

I wish to point out that the Nonaligned Movement will gain this time, as it has always done, fully contribute to the realization of this aim, states President Drnovsek's message.